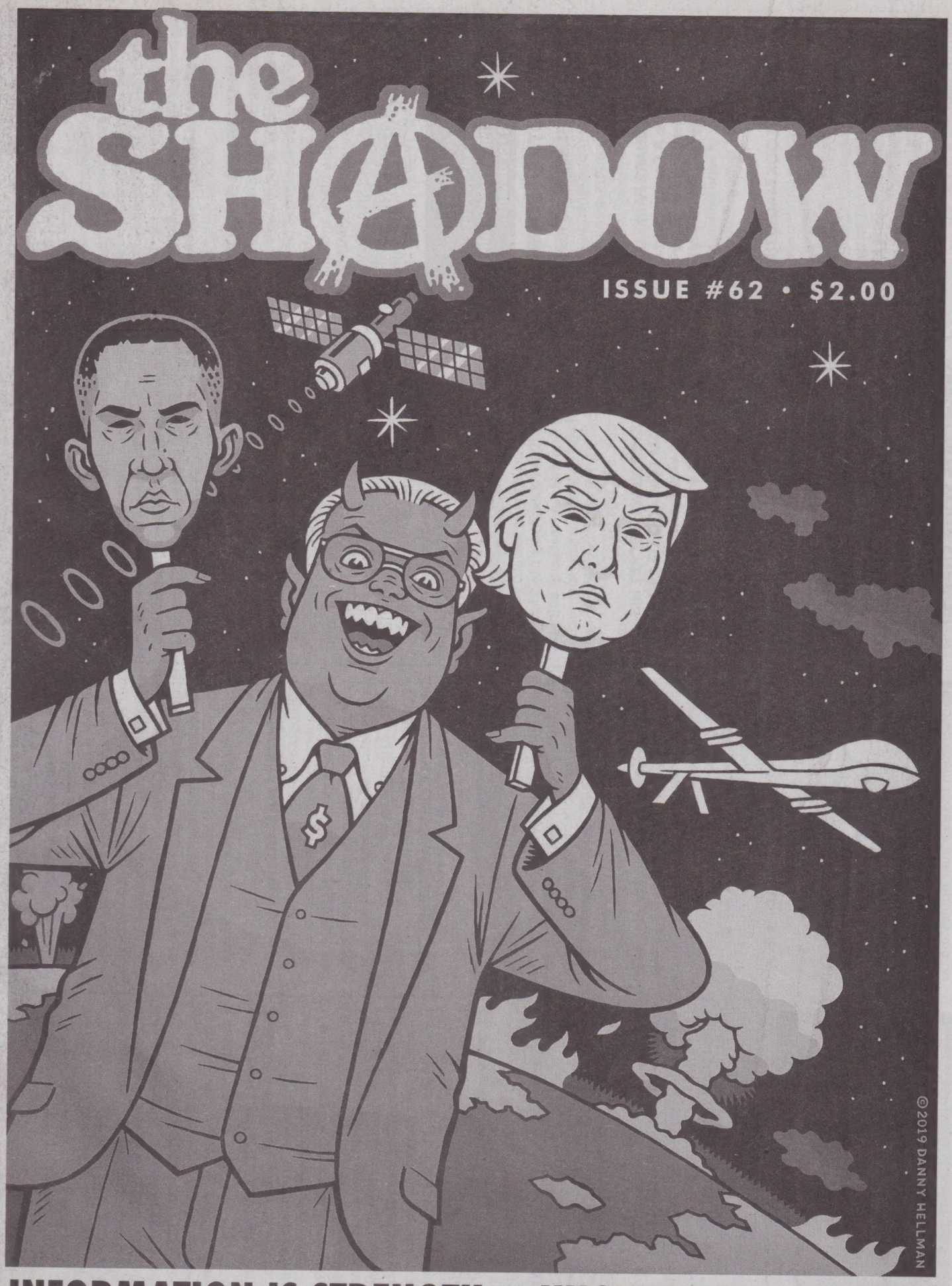

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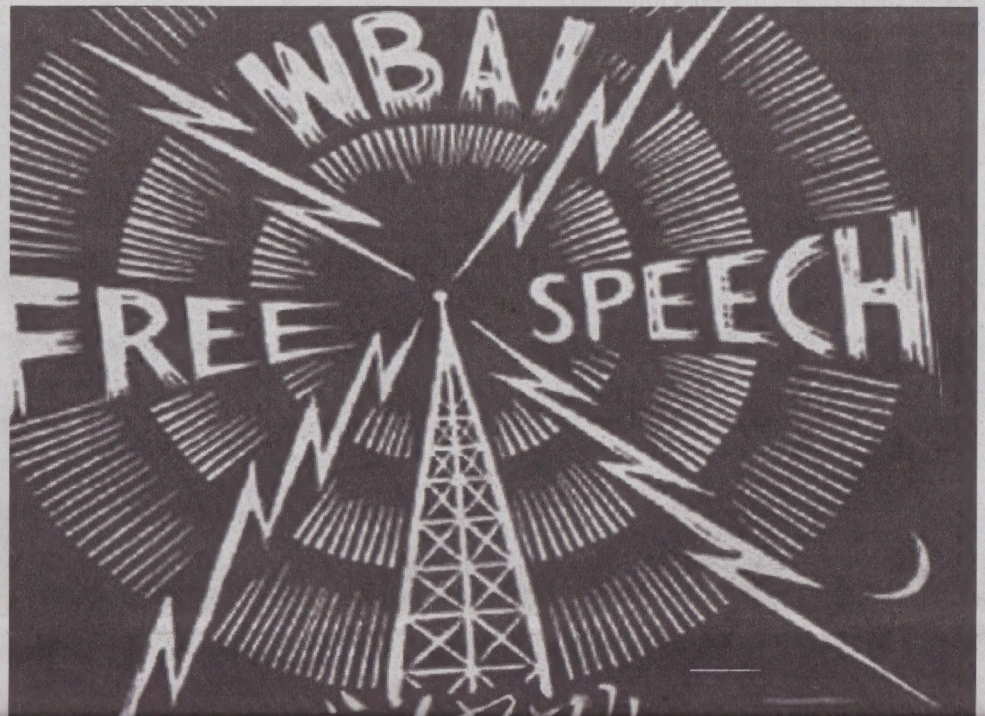
PLAYING THE FM BAND:
The Pacifica Foundation's War on WBAI

By Paul De Rienzo

The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York was the venue on October 21 for the continuing professional wrestling tournament that is the legal battle between down on its luck progressive radio station WBAI and the Pacifica Foundation, WBAI's owners from Berkeley, California. Judge Paul A. Engelmayer ruled in a courtroom packed with WBAI listeners, staffers and reporters that the case did not meet the standards for federal court jurisdiction. The lone lawyer present for Pacifica, from white-shoe law partnership Foster Green, hung her head in shame as she bolted for the elevators through a gaggle of mostly elderly WBAI fanatics in the lobby outside the court room.

But before the Pacifica attorney could make her getaway, the judge gently suggested that lawyers for both parties meet for a few minutes to work out a settlement. WBAI is being represented by Arthur Z. Schwartz, a pit bull lawyer from the West Village who recently made headlines when his home was picketed by proponents of a plan to block car traffic on 14th Street. He



the allegedly impending financial collapse of WBAI made the coup necessary, without any mention of Null. Then there was the financial issue. Both issues, Null and money, have dogged WBAI for more than decade, with the root of the problem in Pacifica's often tortured history.

WBAI differs from the other Pacifica stations in one major way. WBAI has a commercial license. Unlike other community radio stations that are licensed as not for profits, WBAI can sell advertising time and still operate legally. This makes WBAI more valuable and more likely to be sold by Pacifica to fund the rest of the network.

Pacifica was founded in the late 1940s by Lou Hill, a Quaker pacifist who spent much of World War 2 in a work camp for conscientious objectors, plotting with friends to launch an anti war radio station on the West Coast that would become KPFA. The new radio station would be a non-profit supported by listener contributions, which at the time was a new and untested idea. WBAI started out as

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The whole mishagass traces back to October 7, another October surprise, when, according to program director Linda Perry and station manager Berthold Reimers, a couple of "very big guys" escorted top Pacifica officials into WBAI's studios at the Brooklyn Commons on Atlantic Avenue early in the morning. They commenced trashing the broadcast facilities, confiscating computer hard drives and company check books and ripping the Emergency Alert System box from its rack. A radio station is prohibited from operating without an EAS and can be fined thousands of dollars a day for ignoring the rule.

These gentlemen from Pacifica also threw "you're fired" letters in the face of staff members. When Perry arrived she was briefly re-hired by the Pacifica bullies who ordered her to hand over computer passwords and logins. WBAI's signal died for the first time in decades and was replaced by a format called "Pacifica Across America," originating from Berkeley, California's KPFA.

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Adding to the growing stack of legal votes challenging Vernile's authority. Pacifica apparently blamed WBAI the allegedly impending financial collapse of WBAI made the coup necessary, without any mention of Null. Then there was the financial issue. Both issues, Null and money, have dogged WBAI for more than decade, with the root of the problem in Pacifica's often tortured history.

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As McCarthyism and blacklists faded in the early 1960s, it became obvious that, despite a shaky start, Pacifica wasn't going to have a spectacular collapse as expected by its own founders. The US government itself referred to the non-commercial, listener-sponsored network as an example of free speech in America, contrasting it with the censored, state-owned media of China and the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, in 1959, WBAI had been donated to Pacifica by Louis Schweitzer.

Schweitzer was famous for his in-home movie theater, a rarity in those days, and his beautiful and talented wife, theater producer Lucille Lortel. Schweitzer bought Lortel her own theater in 1955 on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village, where it still stands. WBAI would have probably been just another rich guy's vanity project until it was donated to Pacifica. The cigarette rolling machine magnate reportedly added a covenant that WBAI must always serve the New York

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Initially taken by surprise by what was essentially an internal coup, WBAI swung quickly into action. A Temporary Restraining Order, known as a TRO, was granted by New York State Supreme Court judge Frank P. Nervo, demanding that Pacifica rehire its employees and return control of the broadcast signal to its current staff and volunteer programmers. Pacifica ignored the order, sparking a contempt of court motion by WBAI.

Pacifica's corporate lawyers appealed and a judge supported Pacifica's right to control the broadcast, but not to fire anyone. WBAI's legal team soon realized that a legal bait and switch was in play. Pacifica's lawyers, from powerhouse law firm Foster Green, were downtown at Federal court in Foley Square surreptitiously filing a superceding action and attempting to

moot the weakly-worded state TRO.

Adding to the growing stack of legal motions, a new federal TRO was added to the mix after a blizzard of overnight filings sparked by events at a series of Pacifica National Board (PNB) meetings held by phone during the week following the WBAI takeover. John Vernile, the Pacifica Foundation Executive Director, had been hired in July, soon after previous Executive Director Maxi Jackson had been summarily dumped. Most of the WBAI crew seemed blissfully unaware of the inner turmoil at the PNB. Maybe it was all that secrecy getting in the way, but apparently Vernile had launched his assault on WBAI without review by the board as required by the Foundation's bylaws. The blatancy of the takeover shook the resolve of some members of the PNB who originally supported the takeover, leading to a series of votes challenging Vernile's authority.

Pacifica apparently blamed WBAI lawyer Schwartz for the vote changes on the PNB, because they demanded that a federal injunction won by WBAI temporarily halting legal action prevent Schwartz from "communicating" with members of the PNB.

THE ROOT OF THE MATTER

Pacifica's attorney met briefly with Schwartz after the October 21 hearing in federal court, at the urging of Judge Engelmayer, who seemed genuinely concerned with WBAI's fate. Both sides told the judge that they were amenable to compromise. Afterward, Schwartz told the group of supporters that Pacifica's lawyer made two basic demands: number one, removal of long-time WBAI producer Gary Null. Originally, Vernile had claimed that

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The 1960s were a high water mark for WBAI and Pacifica during the civil rights era and anti-war movement. There were probably few Weather Underground bombings in that contentious period where a communique explaining the latest blow against the empire wasn't delivered to WBAI newscasters. Many programs were counter-cultural, discoursing on subjects like psychedelic drugs, Beat poetry, feminism, gay rights and weird music. Icons like Bob Fass built their reputations and audiences showcasing Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs and other young celebrities of the time. Marijuana smoke wafted through the halls and pot was occasionally bought and

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SHADOW EDITORIAL

THE BEZOS OF ROBBERY or: Sadly not a Standup Routine

By Nicos Evangelos

A Rant for Occupy Day

The poverty of liberal identity politics – which is far removed from the story of intersectional struggle and solidarity, is in fact its corporate shadow – was encapsulated last year when the well funded leading organization of the LGBT movement, Human Rights Campaign, bestowed its "National Equality Award" on the most odious of the current Human Robber Barons, Jeff Bezos.

Seriously: the Equality Award! They couldn't just make a new one up for Super-villain, er, sorry, Super-hero of the Year. They probably didn't blink. They seriously gave the currently most money swollen walking dick in the primate universe a prize named for... Equality!

Bezos is busy. His great achievement over the last year was not whatever sum he as HRB donated or is going to donate to HRC – I'm sure he got his prize at a fair price. Nor was it his announcement, following on similar pledges by others of his 11 and 12 digit brethren – that he plans to establish a feudal principality populated by his genetically-engineered super clones and descendants on Mars. They can have arranged dynastic marriages to pacify the occasional wars with the Duchy of Musk and the Zuckerberg Palatinate.

Seriously. What do you think he's thinking? He's into space travel because that's the next step in human evolution? Inspired by Star Trek? Such a humanitarian! But maybe I'm too cynical. He's probably only thinking of Martian mineral rights.

His greatest achievement also wasn't the continuing and even more medieval intensification of the Amazon work regime, as horrible as that is for its bearers. Or the company's usual cannibal feast on whatever's left of Mom and Pop. Soon, I'm sure

Things can and probably will get worse, and besides the living billionaire comrades of Bezos, history is full of equally outrageous moves by Our Owners, past, present and future. And although the examples are infinite, in this case I refer, rather parochially, to U.S. history. Pick your decade, but the 1920s and 1890s were exemplary for just such characters, Fricks and Mellons and Fords, oh my. Deprived by the Constitution of being able to buy titles of nobility – Which. Was. So. Much. More. Honest! – their likes pioneered the image conversion from Robber Baron to Philanthropist.

Incidentally Owner of the Washington Post and Contractor to the CIA, Bezos just joined the latter sanctified group, also last week. He pledged to start a foundation with a whopping 2 billion out of his estimated 163 billion, or whatever his known holdings are trading for today (given some plus minus for variability in the real estate valuations, and obviously not including offshore assets). He promises to give it all away before he dies, which by the way he is not planning to do. Die, I mean. Also, he won't be giving it away, but more on that in a moment.

This first "donation" is supposed go to the causes of messing up childhood education and maybe providing shelters for some of those homeless people he just put out on the street. Sorry, that's also no joke. I'm just a terrible person. I mean it. I'm desecrating the icon of Saint Mother Teresa of the Money Tree as she helps the children. The children! I'm going to hell.

No. This is not a comedy routine, not even a failed one. These people don't give away anything. They never have. That's not the game. That's not why God or Darwin or History or Pure Grit chose them to be the

CARL HULTBERG: 1950-2019

A NYC Ecological Visionary Passes On

Carl Rudolph Hultberg, a little acknowledged influential figure in New York City ecological politics and a pioneer of some of alternatives in place today, died at his home in New Hampshire on June 20, 2019. He was 69 years old.

Carl was born in the East Village, and returned to the neighborhood in 1985 after a childhood spent in New England and Europe, and a period living in North Carolina. Upon his return, he immediately dove into New York City's burgeoning eco activist scene. Carl's special project in those years was the Village Green Recycling Team, one of the first efforts at a recycling program in the city–picking up recyclables from participating individuals and businesses across the Village (east and west), and getting it to recycling centers in the Bronx.

The Village Green Recycling Team and sibling Lower East Side Ecology Center (started a few years later by volunteers from the former), by their very existence, put pressure on the city to launch an official recycling program. Environmental groups were at this time lobbying the City Council to pass a bill mandating such a program, after much resistance from the Sanitation Department. The enviros could point to these grassroots initiatives as evidence that recycling could work in the megalopolis; a bill was finally passed in 1989. Carl would subsequently become the head of the recycling program at New

Again, this demand would later be taken up by the bureaucracy under Mayor Bloomberg, and dedicated bike lanes began appearing on many Manhattan streets – with stretches of Broadway now closed to cars entirely.

For several years during this period, Carl co-produced the "Cycling and Recycling" radio show on New York's WBAI with Charlie Komanoff, then the head of the bicycle advocacy group Transportation Alternatives. Carl also served on the board of TA.

Carl was also involved in the New York Greens, a nascent attempt at a Green Party in the city; in struggles to save threatened community gardens (especially Adam Purple's Garden of Eden); and street theater groups, such as the All Species Parade, in which art activists dressed up in homespun costumes to impersonate their favorite endangered animals

Finally, Carl was an avid musicologist. He was the grandson of Rudi Blesh, the famous jazz critic and promoter, and among his other projects was the Rudi Blesh Ragtime Society music appreciation

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Remember when the Rockefellers gave away their fortune to their charitable foundation, so that they could serve humanity? They so totally gave away that money that it's still around today, 100 something years later, still controlled by the family and its appointed agents, still employing half the still burgeoning clan. See how that works?

The robber baron foundations are hedge funds. 95% of the action is in the equity holdings (the "endowment") and the idea of those is to make money, not to lose it. In this way the robber barons get a tax break now, and secure their fortunes against the potential of wealth taxes. So the first point is, they maintain control of what they have "given away" to their foundations.

The corporate media – their goddamn

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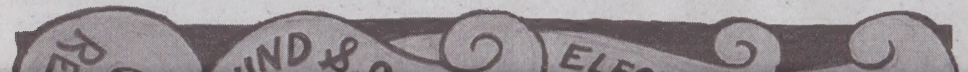

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In 2006, Carl took a buy-out from his landlord (the building was subsequently turned into a luxury hotel), and moved up to Danbury, NH, where he, naturally, headed up the village recycling program there.

He died after a period of declining health.

--Bill Weinberg

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PAUL KRASSNER: 1932-2019

"Irreverence is our only sacred cow." -- Paul Krassner

On the morning of July 21, I woke with a vision of Paul Krassner, master satirist and anarchist publisher. I was asking him if he had something we could use for this issue of The SHADOW and he said "Well, there's this." Later that day, I heard that Paul had passed that morning. (Sadly, I don't remember what he offered me in the vision.)

There is sooo much to say about Paul too much to be said here. Simply put, Paul was THERE when things were HAPPENING, from the late 1950s through the present. Paul wasn't just an observer, he was a participant, interacting and working and playing with important and influential counter cultural heroes and revolutionaries (some famous and others infamous), writing, publishing, performing, plotting, engaging in activities (some legal and others not so legal) and, most importantly, having a ball the entire time.

From Paul's description in his 1993 autobiography, CONFESSIONS OF A RAVING, UNCONFINED NUT: MISADVENTURES IN THE COUNTERCULTURE [re-published by Paul in 2012 when the rights reverted back to him], the course of his life seems to have been set in motion by a series of happy accidents, or maybe not so accidental.

As Paul tells it, while still in college in the mid-1950s, his encounter with the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism [AAAA] leads him to the ISM Forum, which introduces him to the New York Rationalist Society, where he is referred to a tabloid called Exposé, where he meets editor and maverick publisher Lyle Stuart, who later changes the name to The Independent. Paul begins writing for Stuart and then quits school. When The Independent moves its offices next to MAD Magazine, Paul meets and works for MAD publisher William Gaines as well. By that time, Paul begins a short-lived stand-

Stuart and a mailing list acquired from Progressive World magazine, Paul starts his own magazine, which comes to be called THE REALIST. Inspired by an article in Esquire Magazine written by English journalist and satirist Malcolm Muggeridge, titled "America Needs A Punch," Paul says: "My goal was to communicate without compromise. My vision was a magazine of 'freethought criticism and satire.'" The Realist was the right thing at the right time in America, as the limits of free speech and expression, as well as legal definitions of "obscenity" in books, magazines, films and public performances were being tested in the courts.

Through The Realist, Paul connects with comedy show host Steve Allen, his first subscriber. Allen sends in several gift subscriptions, including one for controversial stand-up comedian Lenny Bruce, who, in turn, sends in gift subscriptions for others. Paul and Lenny become good friends when Paul interviews Lenny for The Realist and for Playboy Magazine. Playboy later hires Paul to edit Lenny's autobiography "How To Talk Dirty and Influence People."

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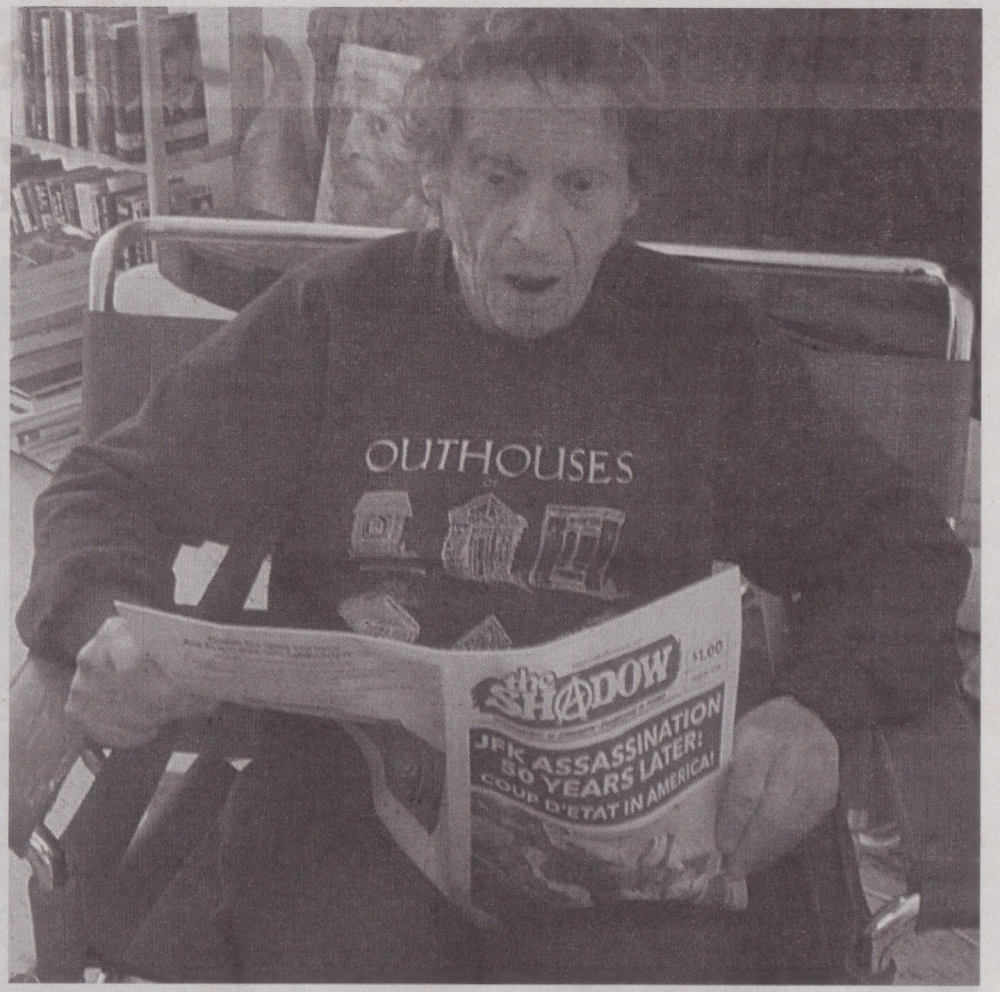

PAUL KRASSNER READING HIS FAVORITE UNDERGROUND PAPER

Timothy Leary and even american nazi party leader George Lincoln Rockwell.

Traveling to Cuba shortly after the successful revolution by Fidel Castro and his comrades in December 1960, Paul hooked up with a prostitute, bitter over her loss of business since the overthrow of the corrupt Batista regime. As she performed fellatio on him, she stopped and asked Paul "You sure you're not a communist?" Paul told her: "Even if I was, I wouldn't tell you now. You'd bite it off." Later that night, Paul met Castro at a reception at the presidential palace, where he gave Castro a copy of The Realist and requested an interview. Just then, a palace guard hand-

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In "Confessions....," Paul reveals that The Realist "began to serve as an organizing tool" for a "domestic Peace Corps" called "People." Using his Playboy salary, Paul supported a free birth-control clinic, a remedial reading program called "Neigh-

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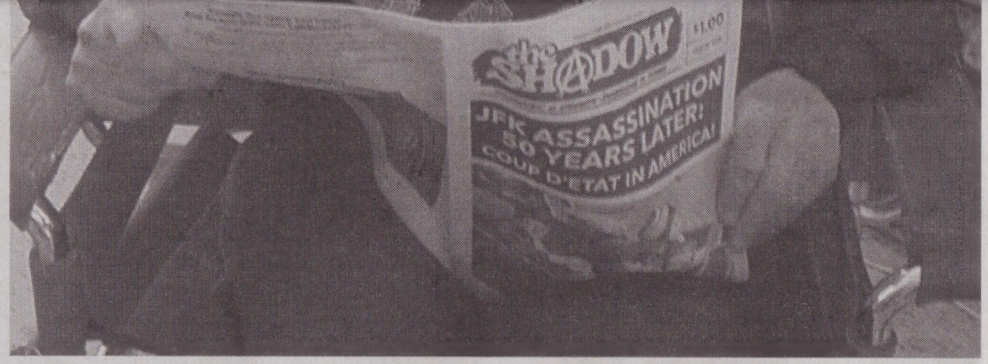

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DISNEYLAND MEMORIAL ORGY BY MAD MAGAZINE ARTIST WALLY WOOD, AS PUBLISHED IN THE REALIST IN 1967

STOPPING FUTURE STORM SURGES

The East River Coastal Resiliency Plan: *Following the Money*

By Paul DeRienzo

An October Surprise threw years of planning and public input under the bus, or in the river, as the city of New York announced last year its preferred plan for flood control in 58 acre East River Park, used by thousands, including many

3 - 4 years. An example is a just-completed $100 million improvement that closed the East River Park's riverside walkway for nearly a decade. Under the city's new preferred plan, those newly-completed improvements would be demolished.

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environmentalists" endangering residents with unworkable plans, the city has known all along that public housing and schools are already being protected independently of the city's plan, with money from the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD] and Federal Emergency Management Agency [FEMA].

Buried in the DEIS, in a section titled "Environmental Effects No Action Alternative (Alternative 1)", the city admits that doing nothing would not adversely affect public housing projects along the East River.

As per the DEIS: "Collectively, these planned projects to enhance open space resources, provide targeted neighborhood resiliency measures, and improve access to parkland and other parts of the city are consistent with the current neighborhood uses, and are not expected to create any substantial change in neighborhood character. However, the neighborhoods within the study area would continue to be susceptible to coastal flooding during storm events, and the potential for adverse socioeconomic effects within these neighborhoods due to a storm surge would remain."

In other words, the city admits that public housing is being protected by yet another plan, called Recovery and Resiliency, funded by $2.9 billion "set aside for NYCHA [the New York City Housing Authority] to strengthen buildings against future storms." But, the city claims that its preferred plan is still necessary to mitigate "potential adverse socioeconomic effects." What are these effects?

What's going on here?

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ANDREAS TROEGER

An October Surprise threw years of planning and public input under the bus, or in the river, as the city of New York announced last year its preferred plan for flood control in 58 acre East River Park, used by thousands, including many among the city's most vulnerable people. In this article, I follow the money to investigate the possibility of behind-the-scenes collusion between government agencies and one of the world's biggest construction companies.

Superstorm Sandy drove the sea over barriers and deep into New York City neighborhoods in October of 2012. This led then-Mayor Michael Bloomberg to establish a private public partnership to brainstorm a collaborative approach to prepare coastal regions of New York City for rising seas and storm surges.

Beginning in 2014, many stakeholders took part in a productive series of meetings and working groups that led to a project called the BIG U. This would have linked together plans tailored to each locality with extensive public input. The Lower East Side part of the BIG U would cost about $350 million, raised by community and local groups from federal and other sources.

By the spring of 2018, as plans were coming together for eventual construction – the city went silent. Environmentalists and citizen groups found themselves 3 - 4 years. An example is a just-completed $100 million improvement that closed the East River Park's riverside walkway for nearly a decade. Under the city's new preferred plan, those newly-completed improvements would be demolished.

As a member of Community Board Three, I have attended many public hearings on the city's plan and have seen resistance everywhere. After the breathtaking shift by the City's Department of Design and Construction [DDC] why wouldn't the public have doubts about the city's long-term commitments?

The original community plan, which was part of the BIG U process, envisioned the park as a wetland that would absorb the rising sea while using the adjacent FDR Drive as a backstop for a flood wall. This is an approach being successfully implemented around the world. The city's project calls for dumping tons of imported landfill and dirt, raising dust clouds and polluting the air in a neighborhood with some of the highest asthma rates in the country.

The danger of climate change is real. Independent experts say the city may be underestimating the effects of sea level rise and storm surges. On the side of the city's plan to raise East River Park, unbiased experts say that only a massive rebuilding can work and that community-based plans like the BIG U are not realistic solutions to the scale of the expected inundation.

Yet, a significant core of politically-active Lower East Side residents say the city's lack of transparency is masking information that residents need to know. Many are environmentalists. Groups in the neighborhood, long known for its activism, have been calling for independent experts to look into the flood control plans that morphed overnight from a community-approved coastal resiliency plan.

On September 21, a diverse coalition of community members and concerned citizens rallied in Tompkins Square Park and marched to East River Park. Along the way, they stopped at the office of city council member Carlina Rivera, where they chanted "BURY THE PLAN, NOT THE PARK."

While City Hall has been intimidating the community with predictions of major storm surges and the need for immediate flood control measures, the city has failed to tell residents that they are already protected under other coastal resiliency programs.

The project Draft Environmental Impact Statement [DEIS] has reportedly revealed that, contrary to the city's projected image of "starry-eyed River."

As per the DEIS: "Collectively, these planned projects to enhance open space resources, provide targeted neighborhood resiliency measures, and improve access to parkland and other parts of the city are consistent with the current neighborhood uses, and are not expected to create any substantial change in neighborhood character. However, the neighborhoods within the study area would continue to be susceptible to coastal flooding during storm events, and the potential for adverse socioeconomic effects within these neighborhoods due to a storm surge would remain."

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What's going on here?

JACOBS ENGINEERING GROUP is among the top 20 companies receiving federal contracts, rocketing up the list after last year's acquisition of CH2M HILL, another large construction company. These are among the main contractors for the city's preferred plan. They are also spearheading a much more ambitious project: the construction of a system of barriers to be built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

The Corps is considering several options for coastal storm protections, specifically, storm surge barriers – giant ocean gates. Some proposals are for gates up to five miles long, blocking the harbor and the Hudson River and Long Island Sound. Markedly, the Corps' various proposals would not prevent sea level rise, but the gates would be closed during major storms to prevent surges of water into the city, potentially damaging its underground transportation and communication networks. CH2M HILL has provided preliminary renderings of these Army Corps of Engineers proposals.

These questions remain unanswered:

- Why are they suddenly so necessary and what is the involvement of the de Blasio administration and the city's Department

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By the spring of 2018, as plans were coming together for eventual construction – the city went silent. Environmentalists and citizen groups found themselves ghosted and incapable of getting a response.

Then, in October 2018, there appeared a fait accompli: a new plan that would affect a two mile swath of coastline along Manhattan's Lower East Side, which the city admitted was very different from the BIG U proposal. Under the new plan, the city will now spend $1.5 billion of capital money to raise East River Park by more than nine feet over 3½ years. During that time, the park would be one hundred percent closed. Thousands of residents who use ball parks, tracks, soccer fields and other recreational facilities in the park would be out of luck.

A report by the Center for an Urban Future called "Slow Build" tells how NYC has failed to build almost one third of capital projects within years of original projections, costing taxpayers billions in extra construction expenses. The concern is that East River Park would be unavailable for much longer than the projected

the East River Park's riverside walkway for nearly a decade. Under the city's new preferred plan, those newly-completed improvements would be demolished.

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Global warming is REAL. That's why millions are marching worldwide, especially youth demanding that action be taken. New York City's preferred plan is to raise the East River Park by more than nine feet, with construction starting in spring 2020 and lasting a minimum of 3½ years. Most of the community doesn't want that. Some folks in the NYCHA projects do because they're directly in the line of fire. Environmentalists point out there is no intermediate plan to protect NYCHA projects during the planned construction and that the community was kept in the dark regarding separate plans to protect the projects. Also, there is no guarantee that ANY plan will work in the end. The city's plan is a slap-dash project to get the problem out of the way until another generation has to deal with it. By 2050, the projections used for the iteration of this flood control project will be obsolete. The seas keep rising beyond predictions. Some say that only a massive flood prevention project will work. The city is going about it the wrong way and now they face determined opposition.
MOTHER NATURE is coming and boy is she pissed!

– Paul DeRienzo

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These questions remain unanswered:

- Why are they suddenly so necessary and what is the involvement of the de Blasio administration and the city's Department of Design and Construction with its track record of going far over budget?
- Are these contracts being opened for bidding?
- Are certain contractors grandfathered in?
- What unions represent the workers?
- What is the labor history of these companies?
- Who is responsible for liability in case these projects fail to stop a storm surge?
- Why now?
- Why the epic lack of transparency?

The only way to discover the truth is to follow the money.

[Paul DeRienzo is a member of Community Board Three, which covers the Lower East Side and Chinatown. He is also news director for WBAI (99.5FM and wbai.org). He also hosts public access show Let Them Talk on Manhattan Neighborhood Network (mnn.org)]

An Open Letter to City Councilmember Carlina Rivera

By Pat Arnow

EAST RIVER PARK ACTION has been urging people to call City Councilmember Carlina Rivera to voice opposition to the city's plan to close and demolish East River Park.

A few who did have reported that Rivera's office staff is trying to talk them out of their position on this destructive flood control plan. It sounds like the councilmember has made up her mind to support the plan and has instructed staffers to convince callers to change their minds–rather than being open to changing her mind when presented with passionate, well-informed positions from your constituents.

One person who opposes the plan said that a Rivera staffer "spent 15 minutes trying to convince me of how great the plan is, how much community input was taken and kind of brushing me off because I haven't been in all the community board meetings to appreciate the scope and breadth of that consultation with the community."

It is inaccurate to imply that the community supports this plan. The caller might not have been at meetings, but I sure have, and if Rivera was listening, she heard a resounding NO.

At the Community Board Three meeting in June, for instance, 70 people testified, and 67 were against the flood control plan in whole or in part – in large part!

The testimony at that meeting was passionate, heartfelt and cogent. It touched on everything, from losing recreation for our kids, who might then get into mischief, to losing bio-diversity, shade, a place to exercise, a route for biking and walking, a shady picnic area, and a place to cleanse the air and soothe the soul.

From our canvassing in the park and around the neighborhood, we have learned that most residents don't know about the plan to demolish the park, and when they hear details, they are horrified. Their community leaders, who support the plan, don't bother to meet with them. What "community" is Rivera listening to?

phased construction would still destroy the entire park? That the alternate parks and recreation spaces that the city has offered are paltry, sad and cruel: Time lines? "We're working on them," we are told. Realistic time lines? Absolutely not!

Another caller who talked to a different Rivera staffer said, "She basically spent an hour trying to make Alternative 4 [what the city calls the 'Preferred Plan'] palatable to me. I kept telling her how destroying the park and raising it up 10 feet would offer no additional flood protection than a barrier wall along the FDR Drive. She just would not listen to any of my talking points and kept trying to find a concession that 'would make me happier about the project.'"

Councilmember Rivera, please tell us that you will not support anything until after an expert external review has evaluated the plan, including time lines and environmental issues – as you and Manhattan Borough President Gale Brewer have demanded in the past. Please tell us that you know that the city is not reliable about construction time lines – or providing alternate park spaces and green ways. Please tell us that you won't support a plan that hasn't publicly given you a single meaningful concession almost a year after the city announced the plan, even though you yourself have repeatedly demanded accommodations.

East River Park ACTION supports working out a plan that will preserve much of the park while also offering flood protection. Carlina, if you will keep an open mind, we'd like to persuade you that it can be done, and you can be a hero of the New Green Deal rather than the politician who will oversee a vast mud pit for years.

Please listen to your constituents.

[Pat Arnow is a member of East River Park ACTION. For info, go to http://eastriverparkaction.org. Email them at: ourpark@eastriverparkaction.org]

GREEN THUMB GARDENERS UNDER PARKS DEPARTMENT THUMB

By Amy Neshama

PHOTO COURTESY OF NEW YORK CITY COMMUNITY GARDEN COALITION

"Is the Green Thumb program changing from garden friendly enablers to an enforcement agency?"

This is the question being asked by community gardeners across New York City, who are questioning overwhelming micro management being imposed on them in a new Green Thumb license agreement.

The community garden movement began on the Lower East Side in 1973 with the Green Guerillas, a grassroots environmental group that lobbed seed bombs over fences surrounding vacant lots to jumpstart plant growth. Established in 1978, the Green Thumb program focused on providing resources and protection to those who transformed rubble strewn city owned lots into community gardens. Over time, it has increasingly proven to be an extension of city government.

At first, the city allowed neighborhood

are being enforced, it is as if garden volunteers are being considered employees of the Parks Department!

It was not until the major influx of real estate development in the mid 1990s that community gardeners were no longer afforded leases and instead were forced to sign license agreements. Long time community activist Ray Figueroa has emphasized, in a passionate speech, how a license, as opposed to a lease, is a very different relationship with gardeners: A license forces the licensee to beg and barter for permission, but a lease solidifies our connection to the land.

Urban gardens standing today are each a testament to the resilient and unbreakable spirit of community across New York City. In defiance of the despairing reality of the 1970s, when buildings from the LES to the South Bronx were burned to the ground and left to decay,

trying to convince me of how great the plan is, how much community input was taken and kind of brushing me off because I haven't been in all the community board meetings to appreciate the scope and breadth of that consultation with the community."

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The person who called the councilmember's office went on, regarding her call with the staffer: "She told me several times that there were 'factions in the neighborhood spreading misinformation.'" [If there's any inaccurate information coming from the faction called East River Park ACTION, please let us know. We will be happy to correct it.]

However, is it misinformation to say that the park will be closed for years? That the park will be completely demolished? That the city has not promised one inch of phased construction? That even if it did, project.'"

Councilmember Rivera, please tell us that you will not support anything until after an expert external review has evaluated the plan, including time lines and environmental issues – as you and Manhattan Borough President Gale Brewer have demanded in the past. Please tell us that you know that the city is not reliable about construction time lines – or providing alternate park spaces and green ways. Please tell us that you won't support a plan that hasn't publicly given you a single meaningful concession almost a year after the city announced the plan, even though you yourself have repeatedly demanded accommodations.

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[NYC councilmember Carlina Rivera serves on the Committee For Land Use and on the Committee on Parks and Recreation. Rivera is a member of political club CODA - Coalition for a District Alternative – which ran her for the city council seat vacated by CODA member Rosie Mendez, who was forced out due to term limits. Rivera's offices are located at 254 East Fourth Street and 250 Broadway, Room 1734. Her office phone numbers are: 212-677-1077 and 212-788-7366. You can email her at: district2@council.nyc.gov]

PHOTO COURTESY OF NEW YORK CITY COMMUNITY GARDEN COALITION

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At first, the city allowed neighborhood groups to use the lots under a token lease agreement. In time, as the Green Thumb program became more established, the city began issuing ten year leases, though the city reserved the option to "develop" the formerly vacant lots.

In the 1990s, the city began auctioning city owned land to developers, including community gardens. Activists disrupted auctions, demonstrated throughout the city and lobbied then NY State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer to save the gardens. With intervention by the New York Restoration Project, founded by entertainer Bette Midler, an agreement brokered by Spitzer and the city saved hundreds of garden sites. In 1995, Green Thumb fell under the jurisdiction of the NYC Parks Department, further solidifying the permanent status of community gardens.

This year, gardeners are being pressured by the Parks Department to sign a new "license agreement" that is dramatically different from the simple two page lease that gardeners were offered and signed in the 1990s. Not only is the new license agreement longer, but the lan-

are being enforced, it is as if garden volunteers are being considered employees of the Parks Department!

It was not until the major influx of real estate development in the mid 1990s that community gardeners were no longer afforded leases and instead were forced to sign license agreements. Long time community activist Ray Figueroa has emphasized, in a passionate speech, how a license, as opposed to a lease, is a very different relationship with gardeners: A license forces the licensee to beg and barter for permission, but a lease solidifies our connection to the land.

Urban gardens standing today are each a testament to the resilient and unbreakable spirit of community across New York City. In defiance of the despairing reality of the 1970s, when buildings from the LES to the South Bronx were burned to the ground and left to decay, community members rolled up their sleeves, cleared rubble, and transformed vacant lots through hard work and unity. From sites of destruction and hopelessness, beautiful flowers blossomed and neighbors affirmed what it means to be a part of a community.

This past summer, a family of three, Melissa, her husband Paul and their son, attended a meeting at the La Finca El Sur Garden in the South Bronx to raise awareness and share concerns about the new license agreement. Melissa is inheriting the El Batey De Doña Provi Garden in the Tremont neighborhood of the Bronx, which her father brought to life in 1983. She recalled living in an apartment across the street as a child and watching the building in that very lot burn down. The first item to be brought into the lot was a domino table. In the years to come, that garden would become a refuge for young and old to hang out and avoid drug ridden parks, serving as a lively hub with birthday parties, hip hop events, educational workshops and cultural celebrations. Melissa's father constructed the prize of the garden

NEW VERSION OF de BLASIO'S "KILL THE PARK" PLAN

The de Blasio administration has come up with yet another October surprise for the populace of the Lower East Side regarding East River Park–though this latest one is more anti-climax and double-talk than sur-

- Second Phase of Construction (Spring 2023 to Late 2025): Newly-rebuilt portions of East River Park will be open from Houston Street to approximately East 10th Street, as well as the vast majority

about the plan to demolish the park, and when they hear details, they are horrified. Their community leaders, who support the plan, don't bother to meet with them. What "community" is Rivera listening to?

The person who called the councilmember's office went on, regarding her call with the staffer: "She told me several times that there were 'factions in the neighborhood spreading misinformation.'" [If there's any inaccurate information coming from the faction called East River Park ACTION, please let us know. We will be happy to correct it.]

However, is it misinformation to say that the park will be closed for years? That the park will be completely demolished? That the city has not promised one inch of phased construction? That even if it did,

[Pat Arnow is a member of East River Park ACTION. For info, go to http://eastriverparkaction.org. Email them at: ourpark@eastriverparkaction.org]

[NYC councilmember Carlina Rivera serves on the Committee For Land Use and on the Committee on Parks and Recreation. Rivera is a member of political club CODA - Coalition for a District Alternative - which ran her for the city council seat vacated by CODA member Rosie Mendez, who was forced out due to term limits. Rivera's offices are located at 254 East Fourth Street and 250 Broadway, Room 1734. Her office phone numbers are: 212-677-1077 and 212-788-7366. You can email her at: district2@council.nyc.gov]

NEW VERSION OF de BLASIO'S "KILL THE PARK" PLAN

The de Blasio administration has come up with yet another October surprise for the populace of the Lower East Side regarding East River Park–though this latest one is more anti-climax and double-talk than surprise–which is no surprise when dealing with the present administration at City Hall. On October 2, de Blasio's office distributed a vaguely-worded p ress release announcing some superficial changes to the time table of "Preferred Plan Option 4" of the East Side Coastal Resiliency Project, while leaving unchanged all of the features of the project that the community has been objecting to. The revisions include no technical changes to the plan foisted on the community last October, but the press release claims that it is sensitively addressing the demands of community activists. Key excerpts of the press release are as follows:

- First Phase of Construction (Fall 2020 to Spring 2023): The vast majority of the park areas from Delancey to Houston Streets will remain open, as well as the amphitheater area in the south, and the portion from approximately East 10th to East 12th Streets in the north.
- Second Phase of Construction (Spring 2023 to Late 2025): Newly-rebuilt portions of East River Park will be open from Houston Street to approximately East 10th Street, as well as the vast majority of the park areas from Corlears Hook Bridge to Delancey Street.
- Esplanade areas will follow a separate construction schedule and will be made available as construction permits.

"Vast majority," "approximately," "newly-rebuilt portions," and "separate construction schedule" are carefully chosen fuzz words indicating that the city is committing itself to absolutely nothing. The city and its developers will decide on the separate construction schedule that will determine whether people in the community have access to the park's vital esplanade–in what way is this a modification of the plan according to the wishes of the community? It is no more than a weasel-worded restatement of a heavy-handed dictate by the city's bureaucracy.

Keep in touch with EAST RIVER PARK ACTION. Don't let the city kill our park for a bad flood plan.

- A. Kronstadt

owned lots into community gardens. Over time, it has increasingly proven to be an extension of city government.

At first, the city allowed neighborhood groups to use the lots under a token lease agreement. In time, as the Green Thumb program became more established, the city began issuing ten year leases, though the city reserved the option to "develop" the formerly vacant lots.

In the 1990s, the city began auctioning city owned land to developers, including community gardens. Activists disrupted auctions, demonstrated throughout the city and lobbied then NY State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer to save the gardens. With intervention by the New York Restoration Project, founded by entertainer Bette Midler, an agreement brokered by Spitzer and the city saved hundreds of garden sites. In 1995, Green Thumb fell under the jurisdiction of the NYC Parks Department, further solidifying the permanent status of community gardens.

This year, gardeners are being pressured by the Parks Department to sign a new "license agreement" that is dramatically different from the simple two page lease that gardeners were offered and signed in the 1990s. Not only is the new license agreement longer, but the language used in the 12 page license agreement can be easily misunderstood by those who are not proficient in legalese.

One example of the lack of clarity is that throughout the license, the licensee is deemed responsible for each condition, yet the license agreement fails to define whether a "licensee" is an individual, or a representative, or all members of a community garden, or the members of a garden board. Many observe that stating unclear rules is not accidental, but strategically positions the licensor to have power over the licensee. Wherever the many rules in the new license agreement need to be further clarified, gardeners have been told to read the Green Thumb Gardener's Handbook, which is 79 pages long.

Community gardens across the city are tenderly cared for by volunteers who want to serve their communities, not oversee their gardens for Green Thumb. Seeing that so many new rules and regulations

New York City. In defiance of the despairing reality of the 1970s, when buildings from the LES to the South Bronx were burned to the ground and left to decay, community members rolled up their sleeves, cleared rubble, and transformed vacant lots through hard work and unity. From sites of destruction and hopelessness, beautiful flowers blossomed and neighbors affirmed what it means to be a part of a community.

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Melissa's recollection is just one out of many meaningful legacies that community gardens represent. Across the city, community gardens uniquely contribute to, even define, any given neighborhood's culture. Perhaps the most valuable aspect of community gardens is the space it offers for gathering, socializing, mobilizing and organizing. As the rich attempt to extend their control over everything, community gardens are the last place in the city where poor and working class people have autonomy and power over land. Protecting our autonomy means retaining our right to collectively decide what kind of activities and events we host in our gardens, along with how we will accommodate our gardens to our neighborhood's needs. Since we have sustained our gardens this way from the beginning, we see no reason for city interference starting now.

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BLUEPRINT FOR GENTRIFICATION:

de Blasio's Affordable Housing Plan: Megatowers, Apartments that we Can't Afford, and More Power to Goldman Sachs!

By A. Kronstadt

The predominant ideology among New York City politicians today is that the word "gentrification" is obsolete because present day housing policy aims to create diversity and balance in communities and avoid displacement.

According to this paradigm, the administration of mayor de Blasio has devised the brilliant strategy of getting developers to provide a certain percentage of "affordable" housing along with an always higher percentage of market-rate housing via the incentives of tax breaks, off-site rights that let them build higher and more densely, and re-zoning, allowing mega-projects in areas that were formerly zoned only for more human scale development.

AREA MEDIAN INCOME: THE CURSE OF BEING POOR IN A RICH CITY

In every case where a developer is including 20-50% of so-called "affordable" (in other words "sub market-rate") housing in a project, the smallest number of apartments goes to those officially described as "low-income" with a household income less than 40% of the Area Median Income [AMI], who need affordable housing the most. A higher number of units goes to "moderate income" people whose household incomes fall within the 40–80% of AMI range. A number somewhere in between goes to people who make up to 125% of the AMI, and, in some instances, more. These "sub market-rate" apartments are only 20–50% of the building or project as a whole, while the rest are "market-rate".

DEBLASIO'S FRANKENSTEIN: THE MONSTER THAT ATE CHINATOWN

with Westchester, Putnam, and Rockland ... extensible mission of housing the poor ... $147,600 to $256,080 annually.

As the open space had originally been intended to contribute to the quality of life of the people living in the projects, not to house people from outside the community with higher-incomes, this cannot be interpreted as anything else but a step backward in housing those who need it the most, combined with an effort to push the envelope of gentrification.

The only way to get an idea of what is going on is to look at rents being offered at some developments in lower-income areas throughout the city. Nehemiah Spring Creek in East New York Brooklyn was built under the Extremely Low and Low-income Affordability [ELLA] program of both the New York City Housing Development Corporation [HDC] and the New York City Department of Housing and Preservation and Development [HPD]. 143 newly-constructed apartments are being offered.

East New York has a median household income of $35,809. This amounts to $35,809 ÷ $93,900 = 38% of the AMI as defined above. A total of 32 apartments are reserved for households making either 30% or 40% of the AMI. 16 more apartments are available to households making 50% of the AMI, but 95 apartments are offered to people making 60% to 90% of the AMI, with 40 two-bedroom apartments being offered to households making $75,000 to $93,870 per year. The take home message is that 90 ÷ 143 = 62% of the units in Nehemiah Spring Creek, which, according to the terms of the now-discontinued ELLA program, does not include any explicitly market-rate apart-

developers to provide a certain percentage of "affordable" housing along with an always higher percentage of market-rate housing via the incentives of tax breaks, off-site rights that let them build higher and more densely, and re-zoning, allowing mega-projects in areas that were formerly zoned only for more human scale development.

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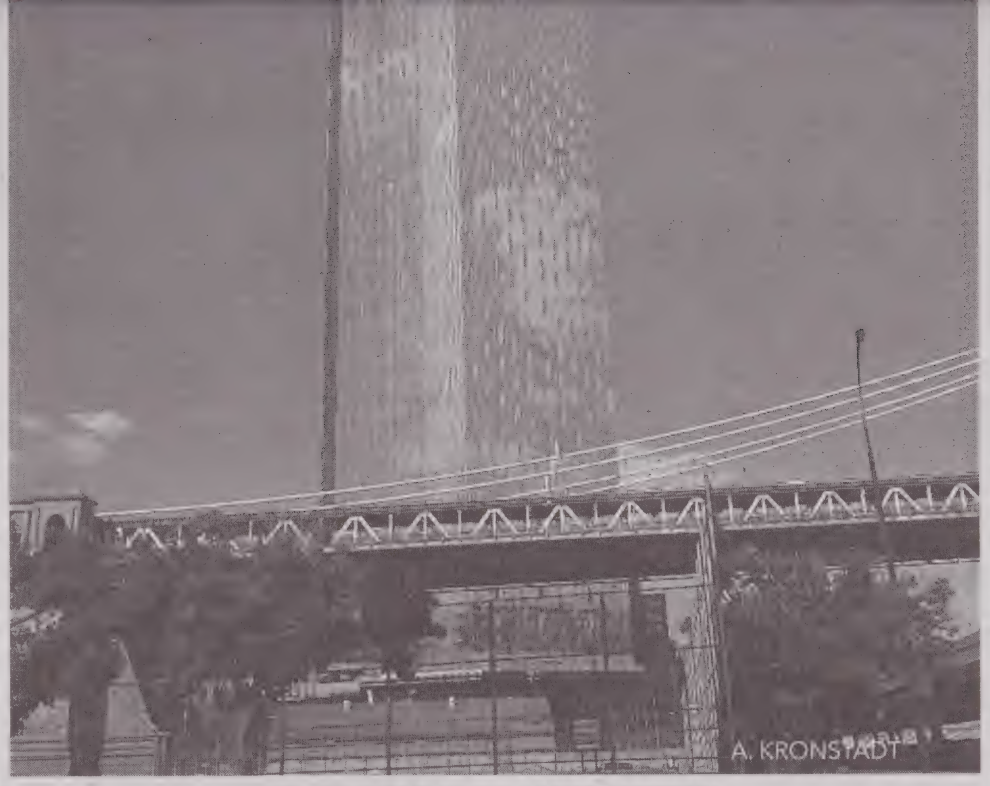
Area Median Income is calculated statistically each year and is scaled by number of family members. For 2018, the AMI for New York City was $93,900 per year for a three person household (meaning that this is 100% of AMI). What this boils down to is that typically there are far more 'affordable' apartments for persons making 80% of $93,900, or $70,000 per year, than there are for equal-sized households making 40% of $93,900, or $35,000 per year. So far, this may not sound so bad because there are bus drivers and teachers making $70,000 to $93,900 per year, and the inhuman and inhumane NYC housing market is running these working people out of the city along with everyone else, though people making $35,000 per year or less are being run out the fastest. Crain's New York has estimated that only 14% of the apartments produced so far under de Blasio's plan have been designated for families making $24,500 per year or less.

However, the story gets worse, because some of these developments touted as "affordable" include apartments for officially-defined "middle income"



DEBLASIO'S FRANKENSTEIN: THE MONSTER THAT ATE CHINATOWN

with Westchester, Putnam, and Rockland counties. It makes no distinction between the median income of homeowners and renters. It lumps the whole upper crust of New York and its most prosperous suburbs in with the poorest among us. Furthermore, and here is the real crux of the problem, most of the developments that include so-called affordable units are in areas where the effective median income is far lower than $93,900 per year. For example, there are buildings in Harlem and Brownsville where cut-rate apartments are being offered to people in the 100% AMI bracket of $93,900 per year or higher. What other purpose could such an offer serve, except to draw the well-to-do into these under-gentrified neighborhoods?

The numbers defining what is affordable go back to Republican Mayor Michael Bloomberg's New Housing Marketplace Plan [NHMP], and, although de Blasio touts himself as a progressive, he has not shifted the figures in favor of low-income people at all. Under Bloomberg's housing plan, it was assumed that those making under 40% of AMI would need the subsidized housing least, since it was that demo-

ostensible mission of housing the poor is that in many cases, the land on which these developments featuring 20% or 50% or whatever percentage of sub market-rate housing are being built was originally earmarked by city planners and community representatives for 100% genuinely affordable housing. For example, both the Seward Park and Two Bridges urban renewal sites on the Lower East Side of Manhattan were originally supposed to be developed for low-income people, starting with the residents who were originally displaced from the sites when blocks of low-income tenements were demolished in the name of so-called "slum clearance" in the 1960s. However, both of these urban renewal areas were kept empty by politicians and poverty pimps who came to control them, and are now venues for mega-projects that are transforming huge swaths of the Lower East Side into playgrounds for the super-rich and investments for speculators from the four corners of the earth.

· Some of these for-profit developments are transforming open space on the grounds of NYCHA [New York City

the most, combined with an effort to push the envelope of gentrification.

The only way to get an idea of what is going on is to look at rents being offered at some developments in lower-income areas throughout the city. Nehemiah Spring Creek in East New York Brooklyn was built under the Extremely Low and Low-income Affordability [ELLA] program of both the New York City Housing Development Corporation [HDC] and the New York City Department of Housing and Preservation and Development [HPD]. 143 newly-constructed apartments are being offered.

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Turning to East Harlem, a low-income area of Manhattan that is under stronger gentrification pressure than East New York, The Gilbert on First, built under the city's Mix and Match program, offers 144 apartments. Median household income in the East Harlem area is $42,010 per year. $42,010 ÷ $93,900 = 44.7% of the AMI. 46 apartments are offered to households making up to 50% of the AMI, 38 apartments to households making 60% of AMI, 11 to households making 100% of AMI, 19 to those making 130% of AMI, and 30 to those making a whopping 165% of AMI, with 3 bedroom apartments being offered to households making up to $199,650 per year. Accordingly, 68% of the units at the Gilbert are intended to suck in a richer class of people from outside the neighborhood.

ALICIA GLEN & THE GOLDMAN SACHS CONNECTION

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However, the story gets worse, because some of these developments touted as "affordable" include apartments for officially-defined "middle income" people making up to 125% of the AMI, which translates to 125% of $93,900, or $117,000 per year for a family of three, using the figures above.

For example, the luxurious 242 Broome Street tower in the Essex Crossing development on the Lower East Side offers sub market-rate condos by lottery to those with annual incomes ranging from $85,000 to $117,375, scaled for a family of three. The price: $224,861 for a one bedroom deluxe apartment that would sell at a market-rate of $1,300,000. This is certainly not an effort to house the homeless, or even to keep the lower middle class in the city, but an effort to draw higher-income people into an area that the real estate industry thinks has too many poor people. This is what we call liberal gentrification.

Let us also keep in mind that the AMI is not determined on a neighborhood by neighborhood basis, but that the $93,900 per year sum is calculated based on New York City as a whole, along with Westchester, Putnam, and Rockland counties. It makes no distinction between the median income of homeowners and renters. It lumps the whole upper crust of New York and its most prosperous suburbs in with the poorest among us. Furthermore, and here is the real crux of the problem, most of the developments that include so-called affordable units are in areas where the effective median income is far lower than $93,900 per year. For example, there are buildings in Harlem and Brownsville where cut-rate apartments are being offered to people in the 100% AMI bracket of $93,900 per year or higher. What other purpose could such an offer serve, except to draw the well-to-do into these under-gentrified neighborhoods?

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The logic of this is twisted: it is tantamount to saying that those who need housing the most have gotten enough and it is time to give something to those who need it less. Twisted or not, the idea was quintessential Bloomberg; Bloomberg was a naked gentrifier whose Rent Guidelines Board tacked a surcharge onto rents under $1,000 per month in order to push the poor out of the city, while de Blasio wants us to believe that he is trying to help low-income people stay here. However, de Blasio's ostensible affordable housing program is based on the same figures as Bloomberg's and therefore must be presumed to have the same purpose – to push the poor out of low-income areas and replace them with a population that the government and developers deem more desirable.

Another deceptive element when judging whether de Blasio is fulfilling his ostensible mission of housing the poor is that in many cases, the land on which these developments featuring 20% or 50% or whatever percentage of sub market-rate housing are being built was originally earmarked by city planners and community representatives for 100% genuinely affordable housing. For example, both the Seward Park and Two Bridges urban renewal sites on the Lower East Side of Manhattan were originally supposed to be developed for low-income people, starting with the residents who were originally displaced from the sites when blocks of low-income tenements were demolished in the name of so-called "slum clearance" in the 1960s. However, both of these urban renewal areas were kept empty by politicians and poverty pimps who came to control them, and are now venues for mega-projects that are transforming huge swaths of the Lower East Side into playgrounds for the super-rich and investments for speculators from the four corners of the earth.

Some of these for-profit developments are transforming open space on the grounds of NYCHA [New York City Housing Authority] public housing projects into new housing that are predominantly market-rate, with a half-assed dash of so-called affordable housing thrown in. For example, at the Chelsea Elliot low-income housing project, which is located in the highly-gentrified Chelsea neighborhood on the West Side of Manhattan, a parking lot intended for the use of the tenants became the site of the Elliot Chelsea, a luxury building which the city advertises as '100% affordable'. Built under the New Housing Opportunities Program of the New York City Housing Development Corporation [HDC], two-thirds of the apartments in the building rent for over $2,000 per month and are limited to families making over $100,000 annually, with less than one-fourth available to families making less than $38,400 per year. Openings were recently advertised on the waiting list for two-bedroom apartments at the Elliot Chelsea for $4,245 to $4,295 per month for families with incomes ranging from

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ALICIA GLEN & THE GOLDMAN SACHS CONNECTION

Some people who work for the city as core decision makers also work for the private finance industry, most notably for stockbroker-turned-megabank Goldman Sachs. Some have shifted back and forth between the city and Goldman as their employers.

One such person is Alicia Glen, who, from 2013 until early 2019, was de Blasio's Deputy Mayor for Housing and Economic Development. The Real Deal website dubbed Glen as "City Hall's Goldman Girl." Before joining the de Blasio administration, Glen had been the head of Goldman's Urban Investment Group, which is the department in charge of "social impact" projects financed by the bank.

Banks are required to document a certain amount of investment in "their local communities" under the terms of the Community Reinvestment Act of 1978, a well-intended piece of legislation aimed at stopping "redlining" or disinvestment in

Continued On Page 8

Forget "Machine for Living In" Hudson Yards is a Machine for Investing In

By Samuel Stein

Hudson Yards is the city's massive monument to private accumulation, and the ultimate example of real-estate-driven urban planning

The developers of Hudson Yards, a multi-towered mega-project sprouting upward from the far west side of Manhattan, would like us to believe that its phase one opening on March 15 was a milestone in New York City history. Many support-

the project. Hudson Yards was meant to demonstrate that city planning can create new opportunities for real estate investment, which is then supposed to enrich the city through good jobs, high taxes and smart design. A closer look at those three elements shows that someone is certainly being enriched, but it's hard to say that it's the people of New York.

Let's take the design first. The aesthet-

union and non-union contractors to break the solidarity between locals.

For decades, that would have been unthinkable: a massive, heavily-financed, technically complex project in the heart of Manhattan would always be built by union workers. The building trades union density has since declined, however, and Hudson Yards' developers decided that their project might be big enough to break the

Terry Moore, and told the members to work the job. Many workers are refusing to break ranks, but the site's developers—one of which, it's worth repeating, is essentially a union pension fund—are waging an all-out attack on union density in New York City. Now a labor peace agreement has been signed, but it is clearly on the developer's terms as it continues to allow non-union contractors on the site. Jobs

Hudson Yards is the city's massive monument to private accumulation, and the ultimate example of real-estate-driven urban planning

The developers of Hudson Yards, a multi-towered mega-project sprouting upward from the far west side of Manhattan, would like us to believe that its phase one opening on March 15 was a milestone in New York City history. Many supportive city planners would agree. Perhaps they are right, but not for reasons worth celebrating.

Developers call Hudson Yards "the largest private development in the history of the United States", and boast that it includes the city's most expensive office building, as well as 14 other high rises. Calling Hudson Yards a private development, however, is a half truth.

Hudson Yards is being built by two firms, Related and Oxford Property Group; while Related is a standard developer, Oxford is the real estate arm of the Ontario municipal workers' pension fund. The developers say the project costs $15 billion, but that doesn't seem to take into account the $5.6 billion in public expenditures already spent or committed to the project. It is financed through a Tax Increment Finance-like scheme that relies on public bonding, it was enabled by a [former NYC mayor Michael] Bloomberg era re-zoning, and it has been in city planners' sights since at least the 1960s. The entire complex is being built atop public infrastructure – the rail yards – and the elaborate platforms that enable its

the project. Hudson Yards was meant to demonstrate that city planning can create new opportunities for real estate investment, which is then supposed to enrich the city through good jobs, high taxes and smart design. A closer look at those three elements shows that someone is certainly being enriched, but it's hard to say that it's the people of New York.

Let's take the design first. The aesthetic is all glass everything, which, when I last visited in the late afternoon, was pretty rough on the eyes as the sun reflected back at me. But those reflections are telling. From the outside looking in, Hudson Yards reflects the city we know and love, but in grotesque distortion. From the inside, it reflects itself indefinitely, forming an apt metaphor for its designers' self satisfaction: a spatial selfie.

To New Yorkers first experiencing Hudson Yards today, the site—still under construction—will likely feel like a simulacrum of a neighborhood, rather than the real thing. That feeling is intensified by the ubiquitous architectural renderings of finished buildings and fancy bystanders. They are placed strategically throughout the site to instantiate visitors with the sense that this mess will someday be complete – but it may not be meant for them.

Then there are the taxes. Allowing developers to build a whole new luxury landscape in the middle of Manhattan will certainly generate revenue for the city. This is not, however, a self-financing development, as some of its supporters claim. If

union and non-union contractors to break the solidarity between locals.

For decades, that would have been unthinkable: a massive, heavily-financed, technically complex project in the heart of Manhattan would always be built by union workers. The building trades union density has since declined, however, and Hudson Yards' developers decided that their project might be big enough to break the unions. For a while, the various building trades locals held out and refused to make individual deals with the developer. Then one broke: the carpenters split off and signed their own contract. There may have been more to this deal than a desire for jobs. It turns out Ontario municipal workers weren't the only union whose collective capital (in the form of pension funds) was sunk into Hudson Yards; the national carpenters union was an investor, too, and they sided with the project's developers over the city's labor movement.

Several unions have tried to hold the line against union busting, but national leaders challenged local solidarity. One of the strongest unions, the Ironworkers Local 46, refused to cross picket lines and work on the next phase of the project, but the union's DC-based leadership recently stepped in, removed the local president, Terry Moore, and told the members to work the job. Many workers are refusing to break ranks, but the site's developers—one of which, it's worth repeating, is essentially a union pension fund—are waging an all-out attack on union density in New York City. Now a labor peace agreement has been signed, but it is clearly on the developer's terms as it continues to allow non-union contractors on the site. Jobs are being created, but in the process, the primary vehicle for economic security is being threatened.

The modernist architect Le Corbusier called buildings "machines for living in". Hudson Yards will be that for some, but for many more, it will be a machine for investing in. Given the particulars of its funding and construction, this machine ingests labor's capital, chews up unions and spits out profits. Some will herald its opening as the next great chapter for New York City. Let us work instead to ensure that it is something else: the final page of New York's long, sad chapter of planning for endless real estate accumulation.

[Samuel Stein is the author of Capital City: Gentrification and the Real Estate State]

WE ARE A BILINGUAL
BOOKSTORE AND

upward from the far west side of Manhattan, would like us to believe that its phase one opening on March 15 was a milestone in New York City history. Many supportive city planners would agree. Perhaps they are right, but not for reasons worth celebrating.

Developers call Hudson Yards "the largest private development in the history of the United States", and boast that it includes the city's most expensive office building, as well as 14 other high rises. Calling Hudson Yards a private development, however, is a half truth.

Hudson Yards is being built by two firms, Related and Oxford Property Group; while Related is a standard developer, Oxford is the real estate arm of the Ontario municipal workers' pension fund. The developers say the project costs $15 billion, but that doesn't seem to take into account the $5.6 billion in public expenditures already spent or committed to the project. It is financed through a Tax Increment Finance-like scheme that relies on public bonding, it was enabled by a [former NYC mayor Michael] Bloomberg era re-zoning, and it has been in city planners' sights since at least the 1960s. The entire complex is being built atop public infrastructure – the rail yards – and the elaborate platforms that enable its construction are owned by the Metropolitan Transit Authority.

It's certainly not a public development, though. There are no public buildings, and there is definitely no public housing. The main "public space"—a gigantic circular staircase to nowhere the developers like to call "The Social Climber" – sits on private property.

Hudson Yards is the city's massive monument to private accumulation, and the ultimate example of real estate-driven urban planning. No one looked across the Manhattan landscape and said, "You know what this place needs? Eighteen million square feet of high rent office space luxury housing." Instead, its planners looked at this stretch of active infrastructure and thought: "Someone could be making a lot more money here."

This is not just the opinion of one left-wing critic; it was the very terms on which the Bloomberg administration promoted elements shows that someone is certainly being enriched, but it's hard to say that it's the people of New York.

Let's take the design first. The aesthetic is all glass everything, which, when I last visited in the late afternoon, was pretty rough on the eyes as the sun reflected back at me. But those reflections are telling. From the outside looking in, Hudson Yards reflects the city we know and love, but in grotesque distortion. From the inside, it reflects itself indefinitely, forming an apt metaphor for its designers' self satisfaction: a spatial selfie.

To New Yorkers first experiencing Hudson Yards today, the site—still under construction—will likely feel like a simulacrum of a neighborhood, rather than the real thing. That feeling is intensified by the ubiquitous architectural renderings of finished buildings and fancy bystanders. They are placed strategically throughout the site to instantiate visitors with the sense that this mess will someday be complete – but it may not be meant for them.

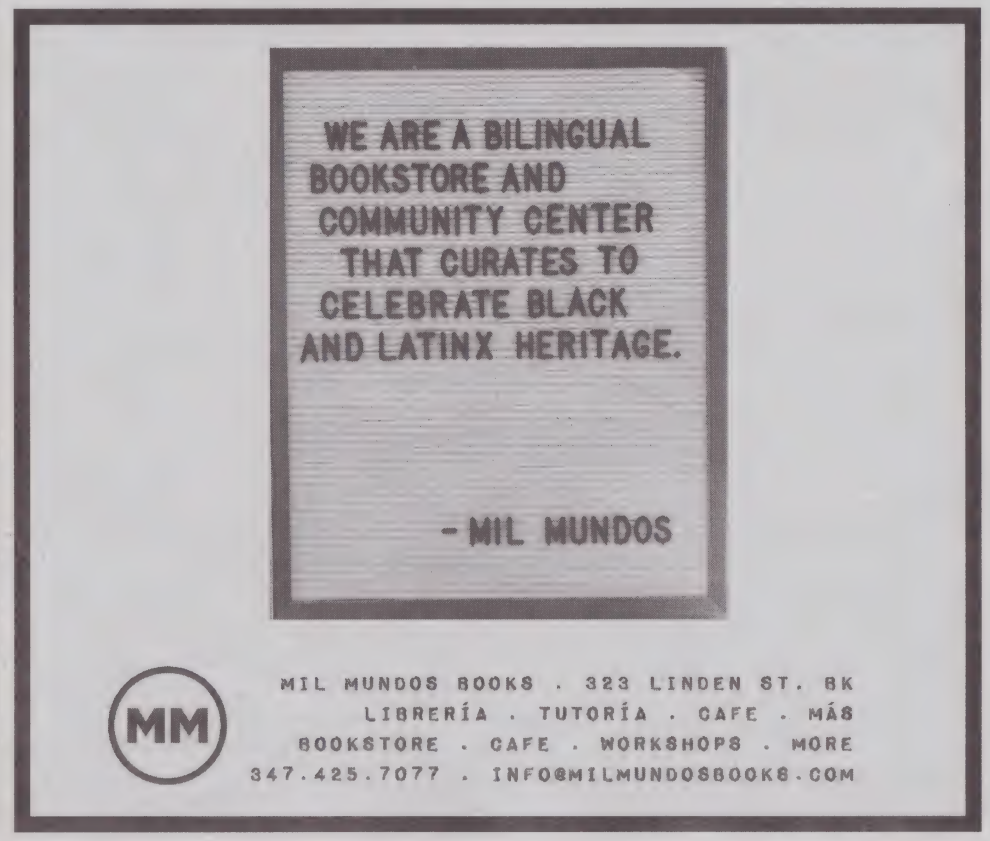
Then there are the taxes. Allowing developers to build a whole new luxury landscape in the middle of Manhattan will certainly generate revenue for the city. This is not, however, a self-financing development, as some of its supporters claim. If researchers were recently able to uncover an additional $1 billion in unreported Hudson Yards subsidies, it's likely there's more hiding out there. And as Robert Fitch demonstrated in his 1993 book **The Assassination of New York**, real estate-friendly planners and politicians have channeled subsidies of various kinds to west side commercial developers for decades, only to bail them out when the market softens. While Hudson Yards may soon be a net revenue generator, there's no guarantee that it will be into the future.

Finally, there are the jobs, perhaps the most maddening aspect of this project. Without a doubt, the complex construction of Hudson Yards has employed thousands of workers. If you go there now, most of the people you see are building trades workers. The first phase of the project was built by union workers, with all the associated wages, benefits and safety protections. For the next phase, however, the developers tried to go "open shop", or hire a combination of workers. The building trades union density has since declined, however, and Hudson Yards' developers decided that their project might be big enough to break the unions. For a while, the various building trades locals held out and refused to make individual deals with the developer. Then one broke: the carpenters split off and signed their own contract. There may have been more to this deal than a desire for jobs. It turns out Ontario municipal workers weren't the only union whose collective capital (in the form of pension funds) was sunk into Hudson Yards; the national carpenters union was an investor, too, and they sided with the project's developers over the city's labor movement.

Several unions have tried to hold the line against union busting, but national leaders challenged local solidarity. One of the strongest unions, the Ironworkers Local 46, refused to cross picket lines and work on the next phase of the project, but the union's DC-based leadership recently stepped in, removed the local president, York City. Now a labor peace agreement has been signed, but it is clearly on the developer's terms as it continues to allow non-union contractors on the site. Jobs are being created, but in the process, the primary vehicle for economic security is being threatened.

The modernist architect Le Corbusier called buildings "machines for living in". Hudson Yards will be that for some, but for many more, it will be a machine for investing in. Given the particulars of its funding and construction, this machine ingests labor's capital, chews up unions and spits out profits. Some will herald its opening as the next great chapter for New York City. Let us work instead to ensure that it is something else: the final page of New York's long, sad chapter of planning for endless real estate accumulation.

[Samuel Stein is the author of Capital City: Gentrification and the Real Estate State]



BLUEPRINT FOR GENTRIFICATION

Continued From Page 6

areas considered risky, where there were many low-income home owners. Banks had to be forced to invest in low-income areas due to "white flight" and the withdrawal of capital from inner cities. In New York City in those days, some landlords preferred to burn buildings down for insurance money or just let them rot, rather than put money into housing occupied by people paying low rents. However, as inner city land values began soaring in the 1980s, the obligation to invest in low-income areas became much more congenial for banks.

Although Alicia Glen supervised such public relations friendly Goldman investments as the CitiBike project, much of her activity at the bank had to do with Bloomberg-era redevelopment projects, such as the industrial park at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and the renovation of the old Loews Kings movie theater in Brooklyn into a music venue. In those days, Ms. Glen was already pioneering the idea of cloaking gentrification projects as socially responsible investment.

It was at Goldman Sachs, when Bloomberg was still mayor, that Alicia Glen refined the scam of construing investment in extensive for-profit developments as "impact investments" in struggling local communities. As deputy mayor, Glen, along with her not-so-former colleagues at Goldman, arranged tax breaks for and shifted lot after lot of city-owned land to real estate developers at nominal prices as incentives, though they were unnecessary, since the projects receiving those breaks were super-profitable and would have gone forward without them. The small amount of less than market-rate housing included in those projects served to justify these thinly-disguised giveaways to the private sector.

While still managing director of Goldman's Urban Investment Group, Glen teamed up with developers and city officials to broker the construction

Economic Development and was replaced by Vicki Been, who, since 2017, had been the Director of the Furman Center at NYU. From 2014 to 2017, Been worked alongside Glen as commissioner with the City's Department of Housing Preservation and Development. De Blasio's housing bureaucrats are literally all cut from the same piece of expensive cloth.

Alicia Glen herself has been investing, or at least trying to invest her personal money in, market-rate apartments in some of the very buildings which she has brokered construction for, both as a Goldman exec and as a city bureaucrat. In January 2014, Glen and her media attorney husband Daniel Rayner placed a deposit on a two-bedroom apartment in the Adeline, a building constructed by L & M Development, with financing from Goldman Sachs, also in Harlem, not far from the Kalahari. At the time, Glen already owned an apartment in the Kalahari. However, after the NYC Conflicts of Interest Board told Glen that she would have to recuse herself as Deputy Mayor from any decisions involving L & M or Ron Moelis, she withdrew from the deal. The Board did not order her to give up her condo at the Kalahari because they determined that L & M had finished its job there and was no longer involved with the building.

Yet another project in which Alicia Glen and Ron Moelis collaborated, that started when Glen was still at Goldman Sachs and continued into her tenure as Deputy Mayor, is the Essex Crossing project, which was detailed in **SHADOW #61**. At Essex Crossing, the **SHADOW** found that Moelis' L & M Development Corporation partnered with Donald Capoccia's BFC Corporation. Capoccia is on the board of directors of the Moelis Institute at NYU, and is also a partner in L & M Development. It is no surprise that Goldman is invested in this "social impact" project, brokered by Alicia Glen and her Urban Investment Group to the tune of $500,000,000, giving it 85% equity. This means that Goldman gets to snap up the

forced the relocation of a planned new Bell Telephone building and spearheaded financing for low-income housing and housing for seniors,

Most notably, the Neighborhood Council was responsible for establishing a sprawling Pathmark supermarket at the corner of Pike and South Streets, intended to improve the access of low-income Two Bridges residents to affordable better quality groceries. In Harlem, the Abyssinian Baptist Church and other community organizations struck a similar deal to establish a large Pathmark supermarket on a large site that they owned on the far east end of 125th Street.

The Two Bridges Pathmark abruptly closed in 2013, leaving a supermarket vacuum in the area. The massive site on which it was located was quickly sold to Extell Development, noted for constructing several "too tall" towers throughout NYC. Extell had been seeking the site since at least 2007. The Harlem Pathmark closed in 2015 – the site was promptly sold to Extell as well. The Abyssinian Baptist Church unloaded the property without the consent of other non-profits who co-owned the site, attributing the closures to the financial troubles of the Pathmark Corporation, as did the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council. To most observers, those two massive sites being snapped up by the same developer specializing in buildings in the 800 foot plus range was unlikely to have been coincidental. As of this writing, the Harlem Pathmark site remains vacant.

The Two Bridges Pathmark site at 250 South Street is now the location of "One Manhattan Square", an 80 story, 823-foot leviathan featuring 815 condominium units. Curbed New York describes the building as the "height of urban romance." This yuppie Tower of Babel features an "adult tree house" which is actually a garden several times the area of Gramercy Park spread over five levels, for the exclusive use of its residents. The condos are being primarily marketed to Asian buyers, many of whom have been purchasing them purely as investments and will never take up residence there. As with

of the poor, permanently shifting the economic life of the neighborhood to another level unaffordable to long-term residents. Although 25–30% of the proposed apartments are slated to be "sub market-rate", 70–75% would be "market-rate" luxury housing.

ACTIVISTS SAY: DON'T CAST SHADE ON OUR NEIGHBORHOOD!

Two Bridges is one of the areas in the city where the egregious inequality of de Blasio's affordable housing is being challenged on a grass roots level. Local liberal politicians like City Councilmember Margaret Chin, along with old-hat liberal community organizations, such as Asian Americans for Equality and Good Old Lower East Side, are making a weak push for re-zoning the area to scale down the projects to some extent, but it is clear that they are not prepared to oppose de Blasio's liberal gentrification scheme to transform Two Bridges. As has happened with generation after generation on the Lower East Side, however, neighborhood residents have stepped up to bypass politicians and poverty pimps who have been bought off by real estate interests.

Two lawsuits have been filed against the impending projects. One, sponsored by Manhattan Borough President Gale Brewer and the City Council, simply challenges the omission of the ULURP review process, while a much more aggressive suit in the name of several area residents, as well as activists from the National Mobilization Against Sweatshops and the Chinese Staff and Workers Association, argues that the developments are illegal, based on existing zoning, and that permits for the projects should be rescinded. On June 5, 2019, Judge Arthur Engoron of the NY State Supreme Court extended an existing injunction against the four proposed new towers. He is expected to rule on whether the decision of the City Planning Commission expediting the towers should be overturned.

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While still managing director of Goldman's Urban Investment Group, Glen teamed up with developers and city officials to broker the construction of several projects that she would continue to officiate over as deputy mayor. The 249 unit Kalahari on 116th Street in Harlem is a prime example of Glen's mobilization of Goldman Sachs money not to provide low-income housing, but to gentrify a major crossroads of Harlem. Glen arranged an $8.2 million "mezzanine financing" deal guaranteeing Goldman equity rights over the building in the event of a default. As a condominium, Kalahari has a two-tiered pricing system: market-rate apartments go for $800,000 each. 120 apartments are intended for "cops and teachers," which will run for about $250,000 dollars each. No housing for low-income people (which is be defined by the city as people earning $30,000 to $40,000 per year) is provided. The objective effect of this is that income levels in the area are increased, making everything else more expensive. Goldman's investments are therefore promoting gentrification, rather than affordable housing.

GOLDMAN SACHS, LIBERAL GENTRIFIERS, AND CITY HALL

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The more low-income an area in which an L & M Development Partners project is located, the more obvious is their intent to gentrify, rather than to house residents already living there.

In Brownsville, Brooklyn, where neighborhood median income is $25,677 per year, L & M purchased a distressed 1970s Mitchell-Lama development, Marcus Garvey Village, consisting of 625 units, for $98.6 million. The units were all designated as truly affordable housing many decades ago—by renovating the apartments, L & M was not adding any affordable housing to the city affordable housing stock, but merely renovating existing units that had been allowed to decay. This is part of the deception behind de Blasio's plan to build 200,000 affordable units.

CHINATOWN BATTLES MEGATOWERS

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Extell had been seeking the site since at least 2007. The Harlem Pathmark closed in 2015 – the site was promptly sold to Extell as well. The Abyssinian Baptist Church unloaded the property without the consent of other non-profits who co-owned the site, attributing the closures to the financial troubles of the Pathmark Corporation, as did the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council. To most observers, those two massive sites being snapped up by the same developer specializing in buildings in the 800 foot plus range was unlikely to have been coincidental. As of this writing, the Harlem Pathmark site remains vacant.

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Due to community opposition to the giant tower, and because the land under the building was sold to Extell by a non-profit, the developers were forced to keep rents at 239 Cherry Street somewhat more affordable, with its 204 apartments being made available to individuals and families, running from $947 per month for a studio to $1230 per month for a two-bedroom. While these apartments are below "market-rate", they are still steep for anyone on a fixed income, such as Social Security.

The supposedly non-profit Two Bridges Neighborhood Council received $52 million for the Pathmark site from Extell. Having rooted itself in the concerns of an ethnically diverse and primarily low-income community dominated by housing projects, the neighborhood group has itself become a de-facto real estate

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Parallel with the lawsuits, activists are putting pressure on politicians with demonstrations in their neighborhood and at City Hall, but they are facing off with an array of powerful developers: JDS Development, Ron Moelis' L+M Development, CIM Group, and Starrett Corporation.

Will politicians like Margaret Chin who are 100% down with the de Blasio liberal gentrification program listen to these real estate luminaries, or to a bunch of elderly people and low-income project residents who have lived in the Two Bridges area for all of their lives?

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The Kalahari project illustrates the new trinity of powers driving the construction of real estate mega projects in New York City today: FINANCE, coming from Goldman Sachs, GOVERNMENT COMPLICITY from de Blasio's City Hall, and "LIBERAL DEVELOPERS" like Ron Moelis, the "King of Affordable Housing."

Moelis is not only a proprietor of the multi-billion dollar L & M Development Partners, but he is also the founder and main endower of the Moelis Institute for Affordable Housing Policy, which is a division of the Furman Center for Real Estate and Public Policy at New York University. The Moelis Institute serves as a think tank, touting itself as an institution functioning in the public interest, but, in fact, it is an arm of NYU's real estate school, with NYU itself being one the biggest and most destructive landlords in downtown Manhattan.

In April 2019, Alicia Glen stepped down as Deputy Mayor for Housing and project, brokered by Alicia Glen and her Urban Investment Group to the tune of $500,000,000, giving it 85% equity. This means that Goldman gets to snap up the property in the event of any default on the part of the developers.

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CHINATOWN BATTLES MEGATOWERS

The "impact" planned by Goldman Sachs, developers like Moelis, and city officials like Alicia Glen is being executed by way of an intimate and incestuous intertwining of public and private sectors. The trinity of liberal gentrifiers is now moving in on the Two Bridges area to the south and east of Essex Crossing, on the margin of the financial district.

The population of Two Bridges, between the Brooklyn and Manhattan bridges, where Chinatown grades off into an area accommodating some of New York's oldest housing projects, is more low-income and working class than the highly-gentrified adjacent East Village and Lower East Side.

In the 1950s and 1960s, slum clearance projects resulted in the demolition of dozens of buildings and creation of the Two Bridges Urban Renewal Area. Struggles over land use there ensued, leading to the formation of the Two Bridges Neighborhood Council in the city projects along Cherry and Water Streets, to fight against attempts to extend the financial district into Two Bridges. A wave of activism

are being primarily marketed to Asian buyers, many of whom have been purchasing them purely as investments and will never take up residence there. As with other luxury condos and rentals in Lower Manhattan, Extel was able build far higher than zoning would normally allow because One Manhattan Square is accompanied by some below "market-rate" housing in a separate building located at 239 Cherry Street.

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The supposedly non-profit Two Bridges Neighborhood Council received $52 million for the Pathmark site from Extell. Having rooted itself in the concerns of an ethnically diverse and primarily low-income community dominated by housing projects, the neighborhood group has itself become a de-facto real estate developer, offering additional large former urban renewal sites to developers proposing more mega-projects. In December 2018, the City Planning Commission approved a 77-story residential complex for 247 Cherry Street, a 62-story apartment building for 259 Clinton Street and a project at 260 South Street, comprising two 60-story towers.

The city is trying to fast track the new developments, insisting as they did when approving plans for One Manhattan Square, that the new towers would constitute only a "minor modification" to existing zoning regulations in the area and therefore do not require the environmental studies and public participation prescribed by the Uniform Land Use Review Procedure [ULURP].

What the developers and the de Blasio administration are trying to do is to create a mini-city of the wealthy within what has always been a tightly-knit community overturned.

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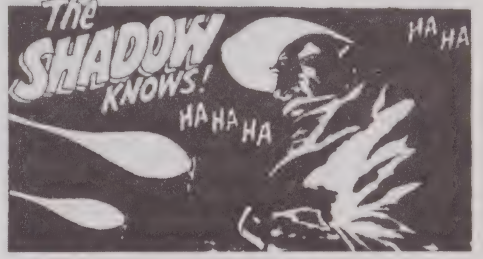
If we are not bought out by the meager pittance of affordable housing that they want us to trade our community and environment for, we may stand more than a chance of succeeding.

Recommended reading:

- **The Assassination of New York by Robert Fitch**
- **City for Sale by Jack Newfield and Wayne Barrett**
- **The Power Broker by Robert Caro**
- **The Abuse of Power: The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York by Jack Newfield and Paul Du Brul**
- **The Permanent Government: Who Really Rules New York? by Jack Newfield and Paul Du Brul**



WHY IS TWICE-CONVICTED FELON SHELDON SILVER STILL FREE, WALKING THE STREETS OF THE LOWER EAST SIDE, COLLECTING A $6,600 MONTHLY PENSION???

By A. Kronstadt

In 2015, New York State Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver was arrested on federal corruption charges, and resigned as Speaker of the Assembly shortly thereafter. In November 2015, Silver was convicted of all charges. The felony convictions triggered his automatic expulsion from the Assembly. In May 2016, Silver was sentenced to 12 years in prison and ordered to repay $5.3 million in ill-gotten gains and $1.75 million in additional fines. Silver's conviction was overturned by the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in Manhattan in July 2017, but in May 2018, following a retrial, Silver was found guilty on the same charges. In July

agreed on a "luxury decontrol" provision that removed apartments from rent-stabilization protection when rent reached $2,000 per month. With the vacancy surcharge in New York's City's inhuman and insane housing market, thousands of apartments hit the $2,000 mark immediately and became "market rate" apartments, stripped of rent regulation. Over time, hundreds of thousands of units were no longer rent-stabilized. Last year, after Republicans lost their majority in the New York State Senate, the Legislature got rid of both the vacancy surcharge and "luxury decontrol," part of a series of good things that came about in New York ensuant

continues to receive a pension of $90,000 per year because he, like Silver, entered the pension system before 2011.

A MOST SNEAKY SPEAKER

Silver was convicted of a laundry list of offenses that involved selling the powers of his office. As a sideline to his job as Speaker of the Assembly, Silver was on the books as an attorney for the law firm Weitz & Luxenberg, which specialized in getting money for people who had contracted mesothelioma, a usually fatal form of cancer, from asbestos exposure on the job. Silver did not actually conduct any litigation on behalf of Weitz & Luxenberg's clients, but he nevertheless received $1.4 million dollars in salary and $3.9 million in referral fees from the firm.

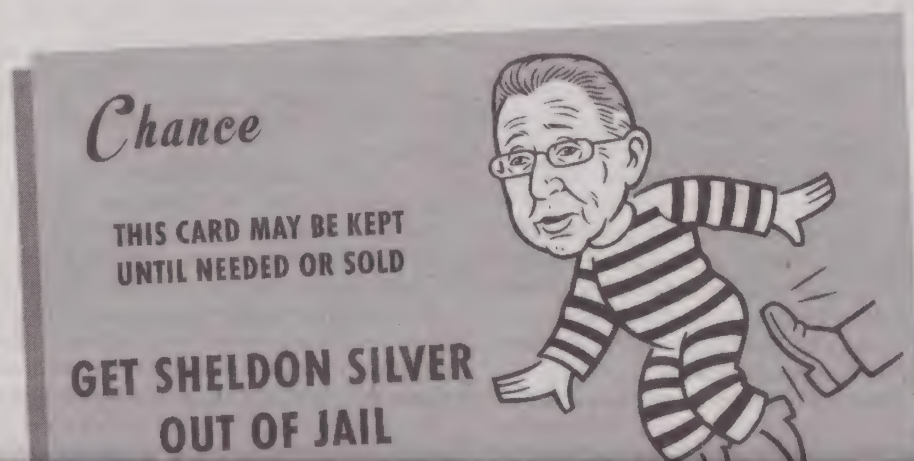
The complex scheme by which he earned this money started with Silver using his office to facilitate $500,000 in state

Goldberg & Irayami, conveniently ended up having their cases adjudicated in front of Judge Martin Shulman, a neighbor of Sheldon Silver in the Grand Street co ops. Shulman is a lifelong friend of Silver and a member of the Bialystoker Synagogue, of which Silver was president. The indictment alleged that Silver received $700,000 in fees from Goldberg & Iryami--not quite as much as kickbacks from Weitz & Luxenberg, but enough to constitute yet another blatant case of bribery.

The nearly four million dollars in bribes he received was above and beyond Silver's salary as Speaker, which was $121,000 per annum.

THE GET OUT OF JAIL FREE CARD

Silver's appeal of his second conviction continues to drag on. His lawyers argue that the actions performed by Silver on a legislative level with regard to the



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As of press time of this issue of **The SHADOW** [October 2019] Silver remains FREE on $200,000 bond, even after being re-tried, re-convicted, and re-sentenced in federal court on multi-million dollar corruption charges that had been reversed on appeal. He has not served a day in prison since his original conviction in 2015. The U.S. Court of Appeals is now allowing Silver to re-appeal his new conviction and has extended his bail through this second appeal. Such consideration for a federal defendant is almost unprecedented and can only be interpreted as being payment for services rendered.

Incredibly, Silver also continues to receive a pension from the State Assembly in the amount of $6,602 per month. According to the terms of the 2011 Clean Up Albany Act, the New York State Legislature can revoke the pension of a state official convicted of a felony connected with his or her office. However, that law may only be applied to officials who entered the pension system after the law

agreed on a "luxury decontrol" provision that removed apartments from rent-stabilization protection when rent reached $2,000 per month. With the vacancy surcharge in New York's City's inhuman and insane housing market, thousands of apartments hit the $2,000 mark immediately and became "market rate" apartments, stripped of rent regulation. Over time, hundreds of thousands of units were no longer rent-stabilized. Last year, after Republicans lost their majority in the New York State Senate, the Legislature got rid of both the vacancy surcharge and "luxury decontrol," part of a series of good things that came about in New York ensuant upon Sheldon Silver's arrest. However, the damage already done was permanent.

As reported in **The SHADOW**, Sheldon Silver made certain that the Seward Park Urban Renewal Area [SPURA], a six block series of vacant lots in Silver's district that resulted from a slum clearance project in the 1960s, remained vacant during his entire 38-year tenure in the State Assembly. The SPURA site was supposed to be developed as low-income housing for the mostly Latino and Asian residents of the tenement buildings that had been demolished on that site, but Silver, representing the prejudices of predominantly Jewish co-op owners who elected him, saw to it that no construction activity occurred there until it was ultimately snapped up for luxury development.

Presently, the Lower East Side is experiencing a wave of pricey construction projects, ranging from Essex Crossing at the SPURA site to the super tall tower slated for the remote Two Bridges section of the neighborhood, which abuts Wall Street. It is Sheldon Silver whom the real estate development community has to thank for keeping areas slated for

job as Speaker of the Assembly, Silver was on the books as an attorney for the law firm Weitz & Luxenberg, which specialized in getting money for people who had contracted mesothelioma, a usually fatal form of cancer, from asbestos exposure on the job. Silver did not actually conduct any litigation on behalf of Weitz & Luxenberg's clients, but he nevertheless received $1.4 million dollars in salary and $3.9 million in referral fees from the firm.

The complex scheme by which he earned this money started with Silver using his office to facilitate $500,000 in state

DANNY HELLMAN

grants to Columbia University asbestos disease researcher Dr. Robert Taub. Taub saw hundreds of patients who were critically ill with mesothelioma and he would uniformly refer them to Weiss & Luxenberg for their legal needs. Employers who were responsible for workers' exposure to the deadly material had already been forced to contribute to a superfund to handle the many judgments against them. Weiss & Luxenberg arranged for sick workers, or their families after they had passed on, to receive the money, for which they would extract a hefty fee on a contingency basis. Weitz & Luxenberg then compensated Sheldon Silver lavishly for his services.

In parallel with his asbestos scam, Silver was also a no show employee of the law firm Goldberg & Iryami, P.C., which specialized in saving big money for landlords and developers under the 421a tax

much as kickbacks from Weitz & Luxenberg, but enough to constitute yet another blatant case of bribery.

The nearly four million dollars in bribes he received was above and beyond Silver's salary as Speaker, which was $121,000 per annum.

THE GET OUT OF JAIL FREE CARD

Silver's appeal of his second conviction continues to drag on. His lawyers argue that the actions performed by Silver on a legislative level with regard to the mesothelioma grants and the 421a tax abatements did not meet the criteria for an "official act," as defined in case law. His original conviction was overturned because the judge had failed to instruct the jury that if the service provided by Silver in exchange for the kickbacks did not constitute an "official act," then Silver could not be convicted of bribery. At his second trial, the judge made the correct instruction to the jury, which re-convicted Silver and confirmed that he had indeed been guilty of performing official acts in exchange for bribes, which is a felony. However, the three-judge panel hearing Silver's second appeal continues to allow his attorneys to quibble about whether the "pro" in the "quid pro quo" between Silver and the law firms was actually an official act, though two juries have already determined that a string of felonies were

States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in Manhattan in July 2017, but in May 2018, following a retrial, Silver was found guilty on the same charges. In July 2018, Silver was sentenced to seven years in prison.

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THREE MEN IN A ROOM

The now 75-year-old Silver is the kind of criminal New York's ruling class can live with. He served his purpose as a power broker and enabler of big landlords. Until his 2015 conviction, he was one of the all powerful "three men in a room," along with the governor and, in those days, the always Republican State Senate Majority Leader, who were able to decide the fate of millions of New Yorkers behind our backs.

It was Shelly Silver who, in 1997, sat down in that room with then Senate Majority Leader Joe Bruno and Republican bozo Governor George Pataki to allow landlords of rent-stabilized apartments to impose a 20% vacancy surcharge on new tenants every time a rent-stabilized apartment was vacated. At the same time, they also York State Senate, the Legislature got rid of both the vacancy surcharge and "luxury decontrol," part of a series of good things that came about in New York ensuant upon Sheldon Silver's arrest. However, the damage already done was permanent.

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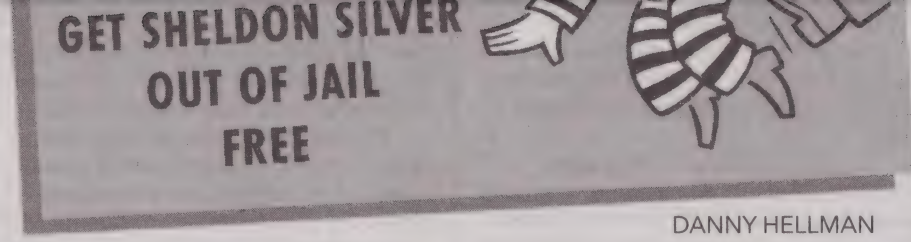
As a footnote to the "three men in a room" saga, the two New York State Senate Majority Leaders who served as Shelly Silver's faithful negotiating partners while he sold out New York City to the rich—Joe Bruno and his successor Dean Skelos—were also indicted for acts of corruption. And, guess what? Neither of THEM have spent even a night in jail. Bruno's conviction for taking $3.2 million in "consulting fees" for helping companies who wanted to do business with the state was overturned on appeal. Skelos remains free on appeal bond, like his counterpart Silver, after conviction on eight counts of bribery, extortion, and mail fraud. Furthermore, under the above-mentioned loophole in the Clean Up Albany Act of 2011, Skelos



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In parallel with his asbestos scam, Silver was also a no show employee of the law firm Goldberg & Iryami, P.C., which specialized in saving big money for landlords and developers under the 421a tax abatement program, meant to incentivize investment in "under-used properties," which Silver himself had sponsored as a legislator and the renewal of which he perennially used as a bargaining chip with the other two men the room. At least 17 landlords seeking 421a abatements or fighting against denial of abatements under the program, all of them clients of mesothelioma grants and the 421a tax abatements did not meet the criteria for an "official act," as defined in case law. His original conviction was overturned because the judge had failed to instruct the jury that if the service provided by Silver in exchange for the kickbacks did not constitute an "official act," then Silver could not be convicted of bribery. At his second trial, the judge made the correct instruction to the jury, which re-convicted Silver and confirmed that he had indeed been guilty of performing official acts in exchange for bribes, which is a felony. However, the three-judge panel hearing Silver's second appeal continues to allow his attorneys to quibble about whether the "pro" in the "quid pro quo" between Silver and the law firms was actually an official act, though two juries have already determined that a string of felonies were committed.

The appeals court has given Silver's legal team until December 3 to file all papers. Meanwhile, convicted felon Sheldon Silver continues to walk the streets of the Lower East Side of Manhattan, confident that New York's ruling class will most likely never go so far as to imprison a man who has provided as many services to the rich as he did.

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IN VENEZUELA, WHITE SUPREMACY IS A KEY TO TRUMP'S COUP

By Greg Palast

On January 23, right after a phone call from Donald Trump, Juan Guaidó, former speaker of Venezuela's National Assembly, declared himself president. No voting. When you have official recognition from The Donald, who needs elections?

Say what?

I can explain what's going on in Venezuela in three photos:

First, we have Juan Guaidó, self proclaimed (and Trump proclaimed) president of the nation, with his wife and child, a photo prominently placed in The New York Times.

Next, the class photo of Guaidó's party members in the National Assembly, white as snow...

...especially when compared to their political opposites in the third photo, the congress members who support the elected President Nicolás Maduro. The Maduro supporters are nearly all of a darker hue.

This is the story of Venezuela in black and white, the story not told in The New York Times nor the rest of our establishment media. This year's so called popular uprising is, at its heart, a furious backlash of the whiter (and wealthier) Venezuelans against their replacement by the larger Mestizo (mixed race) poor.

Four centuries of white supremacy in Venezuela by those who identify their ancestors as European came to an end with the 1998 election of Hugo Chavez who won with the overwhelming support of the Mestizo majority. This turn away from white supremacy continues under Maduro, Chavez' chosen successor.

In my interviews with Chavez for BBC beginning in 2002, he talked with humor about the fury of a white ruling class finding itself displaced by dark skinned man who was so visibly "Negro e Indio," a label he wore loudly and proudly.

Why did the poor love Chavez? (And love is not too strong a word.) As even the

The Chavistas wore patriotic yellow, blue and red T shirts, sneaks, jeans.

Race was an issue as much as political philosophy. When I marched alongside the opposition demonstrators, they shouted "Chavez, Monkey!" and worse.

Many in the US have never heard this story of race war in Venezuela (and war is what it is), as the US press does not recognize its own racial bias. In 2002, as today, the massive demonstrations of the whiter Venezuelans were reported as evidence that Chavez was wildly unpopular. Yet, the day after each anti Chavez march, I would witness and film the pro Chavez demonstrations that flooded Caracas with an ocean of nearly half a million marchers, overwhelmingly poor Mestizos, that received little or no coverage in the US press.

The bias continues. The New York Times did not run a photo of pro Maduro demonstrations. But in hard to find photos and reports from my colleagues on the ground, the Chavista demonstrations are bigger, involving mass turnouts in several cities, not just wealthy neighborhoods in Caracas.

Why do the poor march for Maduro? Even though the Mestizo majority suffers today, they will not turn back to the pre Chavez days of de facto apartheid.

And we must remember this is not the first time the US government has tried to overthrow the elected government in Venezuela.

In 2002, George W. Bush's State Department cheer led the coup. The plotters kidnapped Chavez and held him hostage. The coup was led by an oil industry leader and head of the Chamber of Commerce, Pedro Carmona, who had seized the nation's White House, and, like Guaidó today, declared himself president. Carmona told me proudly about the fancy inaugural ball held by the nation's elite

THE VENEZUELA MYTH KEEPING US FROM TRANSFORMING OUR ECONOMY

By Ellen Hodgson Brown

Modern Monetary Theory (MMT) is getting significant media attention these days, after Alexandria Ocasio Cortez said in an interview that it should "be a larger part of our conversation" when it comes to funding the Green New Deal. According to MMT, the government can spend what it needs without worrying about deficits. MMT expert and Bernie Sanders advisor Prof. Stephanie Kelton says the government actually creates money when it spends. The real limit on spending is not an artificially imposed debt ceiling but a lack of labor and materials to do the work, leading to generalized price inflation. Only when that real ceiling is hit does the money need to be taxed back, and then not to fund government spending but to shrink the money supply in an economy that has run out of resources to put the extra money to work.

Predictably, critics have been quick to rebut, calling the trend to endorse MMT "disturbing" and "a joke that's not funny." In a February 1st post on The Daily Reckoning, Brian Maher darkly envisioned Bernie Sanders getting elected in 2020 and implementing "Quantitative Easing for the People" based on MMT theories. To debunk the notion that governments can just "print the money" to solve their economic problems, he raised the specter of Venezuela, where "money" is everywhere but bare essentials are out of reach for many, the storefronts are empty, unemployment is at 33%, and inflation is predicted to hit 1,000,000% by the end of the year.

Blogger Arnold Kling also pointed to the Venezuelan hyperinflation. He described MMT as "the doctrine that because the government prints money, it can spend whatever it wants . . . until it can't." He said:

"To me, the hyperinflation in Venezuela exemplifies what happens when a

It was the same problem suffered by Weimar Germany and Zimbabwe, the two classic examples of hyperinflation typically raised to silence proponents of government expansion of the money supply before Venezuela suffered the same fate. Prof. Michael Hudson, an economic rock star who supports MMT principles, has studied the hyperinflation question extensively. He confirms that those disasters were not due to governments issuing money to stimulate the economy. Rather, he writes, "Every hyperinflation in history has been caused by foreign debt service collapsing the exchange rate. The problem almost always has resulted from wartime foreign currency strains, not domestic spending."

Venezuela and other countries that are carrying massive debts in currencies that are not their own are not sovereign. Governments that are sovereign can and have engaged in issuing their own currencies for infrastructure and development quite successfully. A number of contemporary and historical examples were discussed in my earlier articles, including in Japan, China, Australia, and Canada.

Although Venezuela is not technically at war, it is suffering from foreign currency strains triggered by aggressive attacks by a foreign power. US economic sanctions have been going on for years, causing at least $20 billion in losses to the country. About $7 billion of its assets are now being held hostage by the US, which has waged an undeclared war against Venezuela ever since George W. Bush's failed military coup against President Hugo Chavez in 2002. Chavez boldly announced the "Bolivarian Revolution," a series of economic and social reforms that dramatically reduced poverty and illiteracy and improved health and living conditions for millions of Venezuelans. The reforms, which included nationalizing key com-

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What should be added is that, even more than the USA, race and poverty are linked.

But just as Maduro took office in 2013, the price of oil began its collapse, and the vast social programs that oil paid for were now paid for by borrowing money and printing it, causing wild inflation. The economic slide is now made impossibly worse by what the UN rapporteur for Venezuela compared to a "medieval sieges". The Trump administration cut off Venezuela from the oil sale proceeds from its biggest customer, the USA.

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But the Bush/Carmona coup collapsed when a million darker skinned Venezuelans flooded the capital and forced the plotters to return their hero, the supposedly unpopular Chavez, to Miraflores, the Presidential Palace. "Presidente" Carmona fled.

Today, Guaidó's supporters, like Carmona's, know they can't win an election given the overwhelming fact of the newly-empowered Mestizo majority. So Guaidó has skipped the idea of an election altogether, simply replacing running for office with the "recognition" from Trump and allies which Guaidó can't get from Venezuelans.

When I see the images and hear the chants of the anti Chavista demonstrators now, I'm also reminded of what I saw at a Trump rally in Macon, Georgia, in November 2018. The president slid out of Air Force One to tell the crowd – heavily weighted with white supremacists – that they needed to take back their country from those "invading" the border. Trump told them to fear gubernatorial candidate Stacey Abrams, who is Black, saying she

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I'm not an MMT rock star and won't try to expound on its subtleties. (I would submit that under existing regulations, the government cannot actually create money when it spends, but that it should be able to. In fact MMTers have acknowledged that problem; but it's a subject for another article.) What I want to address here is the hyperinflation issue, and why Venezuelan hyperinflation and "QE for the People" are completely different animals.

WHAT IS DIFFERENT ABOUT VENEZUELA

Venezuela's problems are not the result of the government issuing money and using it to hire people to build infrastructure, provide essential services and expand economic development. If it were, unemployment would not be at 33 percent and climbing. Venezuela has a problem that the US does not have and

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Nicolas Maduro was elected president following Chavez's death in 2013 and vowed to continue the Bolivarian Revolution. Like Saddam Hussein and Omar Qaddafi before him, he defiantly announced that Venezuela would not be trading oil in US dollars, following sanctions imposed by President Trump.

The notorious Elliott Abrams has now been appointed as special envoy to Venezuela. Considered a criminal by many for covering up massacres committed by US-backed death squads in Central America, Abrams was among the prominent neocons closely linked to Bush's failed Venezuelan coup in 2002. National Security Advisor John Bolton is another key neocon architect advocating regime change in Venezuela. At a January 28 press conference, he held a yellow legal pad prominently displaying the words "5,000 troops to Colombia," a country that shares a border with Venezuela. Apparently the neocon contingent feels they have unfinished business there.

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Everyone has been hurt economically, but the privileged class' bank accounts have become nearly worthless. So, knowing that the Mestizo majority would not elect their Great White Hope Guaidó, the angry white rich simply took to the streets – often armed. (And yes, both sides are armed.)

I've seen this movie before. When I look at today's news reports of massive demonstrations against the so called "dictatorship" of Venezuela's left government, it looks awfully like 2002, when I was first in Caracas reporting for BBC Television.

Then, the New York Times, NPR and other mainstream outlets in the US reported on marches against the Chavez government, showing the tens of thousands of Venezuelans calling for Chavez' removal. But when I took my BBC camera crews to march with these protesters, they were clearly from the light skinned minority. They were also the wealthy – and they wanted you to know it. Many of the women marched in high heels, the men peacocking in business suits, proudly displayed in the uniforms of their privileged class.

seized the nation's White House, and, like Guaidó today, declared himself president. Carmona told me proudly about the fancy inaugural ball held by the nation's elite and attended by Bush's ambassador.

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I don't think Trump was talking about Abrams' program to bring universal health care to Georgia, as Chavez did for Venezuela.

The US press is quick to condemn the racial hatred on display at Trump rallies. But I have yet to hear or read in the US press what our eyes can see in the three photos from Venezuela -- an uprising of white people wanting to "take back their country."

And take note: The Venezuela putsch by the wealthy, internationally connected minority is operating by a regime change plan designed by neo con re tread John Bolton, Trump's national security adviser. And take further note: It is a plan to control Venezuela and its oil, as Bolton proudly proclaims in the open.

Ah, yes, the oil. It's always the oil. And Venezuela has plenty to seize: the world's largest reserves.

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Bolton does not even pretend that it's all about restoring "democracy." He said on Fox News, "It will make a big difference to the United States economically if we could have American oil companies invest in and produce the oil capabilities in Venezuela." As President Nixon said of US tactics against Allende's government in Chile, the point of sanctions and military threats is to squeeze the country economically.

Continued On Page 20

COUNTER PUNCH

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Tells the Facts, Names the Names

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Pacifica Foundation's War on WBAI

Continued From Page 3

sold in the control room while on air. News reporting was hard-hitting and gained a wide audience.

WBAI fortunes, already shaky with the end of the war, came crashing down in the late 1970s when producers Fass and Margot Adler seized WBAI's transmitter. They were trying to prevent Pacifica from launching an inner city-oriented format hosted by former Young Lords Minister of Communication Pablo Guzman. The bitterness the fight engendered never faded from WBAI Pacifica relations. Fass was banned from the air for many years as a result, until a new manager let him back in after a stint in exile at KPFT, the Pacifica station in Houston, Texas.

After the Vietnam war and with the rise of Ronald Reagan, the US became much more conservative. WBAI's finances began to sag along with all of Pacifica and the rest of the American left wing. A high point was WBAI coverage of the Iran Contra scandal in the late 1980s, which brought in much-welcomed new support as the "Reagan Revolution" imploded.

News director Robert Knight won a George Polk Award for his conversation with former Panamanian president Manuel Noriega, who was on the run after the 1989 US invasion of Panama. Amy Goodman made news with her eyewitness reporting on a massacre in East Timor. WBAI's "Listener's Action for the Homeless," spearheaded by Paul Gorman, brought tons of building supplies to squatters, using the radio for coordinating donations years before the Internet would be used to do the same thing.

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WBAI'S "BIG DICK"

Gary Null (I was Executive Producer

enviable situation for Democracy Now! when its lawyer, Michael Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights, was hired by the newly-reconstituted Pacifica National Board, which at the time was chaired by Democracy Now! supporter and New York activist Leslie Cagan. The contract was negotiated entirely by Democracy Now!'s own lawyer while acting concurrently as Pacifica's representative. Democracy Now! production was granted both cash and use of facilities and valuable mailing lists by the contract, sweeteners that were eventually worth $70 million, according to a report prepared by Steve Brown, a former WBAI local board member.

It was the sweetest deal in public radio, and although Goodman raised lots of money for the network at first, as years passed her audience and financial contributions began to wane. Democracy Now! was moving to a video format, ignoring WBAI and streaming regularly on the Internet. Radio was being killed by the computer.

HOW CATS MATE

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radio professional and WBAI alumnus Linda Perry to develop a news-based programming grid focused on social justice issues. I came into the picture through program director Tony Bates, who gave me a chance with a program called Trump Watch. Perry tapped me to be news director, and I eventually produced a daily half hour news program at WBAI for more than a year.

The issue that was dogging WBAI as I began my latest stint as news director (I had been a news reporter and late night host of Let Them Talk on WBAI from 1992 until 2002) was a faction on WBAI's Local Station Board called Justice and Unity Coalition that proposed WBAI 's license be transferred to local public access broadcaster Manhattan Neighborhood Network [MNN, where I've been producing my program Let Them Talk since 2006]. The proposal was met with deep skepticism and even open derision by non-JUC board members. It was widely seen as "giving the station to Amy" because Dan Coughlin, the Executive Director of MNN, was a long time supporter and friend of Goodman. The alliance with Coughlin has sparked speculation that Goodman may have had something to do with the current takeover of WBAI since the video version of Democracy Now! Is MNN's top show. According to a recent United States Supreme Court decision in a case brought by MNN producer DeeDee Halleck, the First Amendment's free speech protections don't apply to non-profits like MNN.

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stations, especially the Houston and Washington DC stations. KPFA claims growth, but the Berkeley station is protecting a bloated staff, as they were never forced to take the drastic cutbacks applied to WBAI.

The suit is joined by a number of board members and other interested parties, of whom Carol Spooner of the San Francisco Bay area stands out. Spooner was the person who founded a rag-tag coalition that blasted the Foundation with lawsuits during the Pacifica "civil war" in 2001. Spooner's actions paralyzed the network with unnecessary strife and catapulted Goodman into her role as Pacifica's queen bee. It's a telling fact that Spooner, who nearly destroyed the network in 2001 to create a listener-elected board of directors, is now foremost among those trying to tear that system down and replace it with a top down corporate centric model. Was Spooner's vision of listener democracy in 2001 a mistake, or was the idea of listener democracy itself wrong?

Meanwhile, WBAI was just beginning to see the light at the end of the tunnel when Vernile's thugs came in and shut the place down. Pacifica claims legitimacy for its actions out of a desperate need for money, but then why shut WBAI down on the first day of a successful fund raising marathon? It's notable that Democracy Now! – which continues to be broadcast – has posted only one small news headline on the current crisis at WBAI. That anodyne statement contains none of the passion of 2001 when each Goodman broadcast was introduced as originating from the studios of the "fired and banned." It's also notable that the topic the WBAI story was filed under is titled "Media Consolidation." In fact today, because of the Internet, there are thousands more news outlets than ever before. While consolidation is happening in some areas of media, in others diversity is flowering. But the prediction implied by the Democracy Now! post is that for WBAI and Pacifica, consolidation may be just beginning.

GATEKEEPERS ON THE LEFT

The issue that is most disconcerting

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At WBAI, where even the slightest allegation of non-PC behavior is as explosive as nitroglycerine on a corduroy road, Lopate became a lightening rod for Goodman and others who threatened to picket the station. Perry saw the attacks on Lopate as a threat to her authority as program director from folks who didn't like her decision to shake up the schedule. Besides, Lopate had a contract, making him difficult to dump. In the end it was Gary Null who most enraged WBAI's Pacifica overlords.

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The issue that is most disconcerting to the hundreds of small community radio stations, the information life blood for poor and working class Americans from coast to coast, is that if this takeover can happen to WBAI, who is next? That reality is what has turned some members of the Pacifica National Board into WBAI supporters. Are institutions like Pacifica, Democracy Now! and Manhattan Neighborhood Network going to become gatekeepers, locking out ideas they don't like, or is that their pipe dream in a world where technology is fast making traditional broadcast TV and radio obsolete?

Radio will always be here because it's so cheap and easy to access for listeners. The best news and information will always be a curated product. Trust in claims of truth will be paramount in a world where clever fake news gimmicks can fool millions with illusions created by politicians with their personal interest at heart.

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The old board quickly collapsed under her onslaught, and the new Pacifica soldiered on after the emotionally draining year long fight. Former DC mayor and convicted crack smoker Marion Barry was appointed as interim executive director. Eventually, a doddering old programmer from Pacifica's DC station WPFW was made the new executive director, and he somehow was allowed to sign a ridiculously expensive lease with the Empire State Building, which housed WBAI's transmitter. The new PNB then voted to approve the lease, some surmise without ever reading the document. Others maintain that Pacifica was plotting to kill WBAI by dumping the onerous lease on the station.

The power vacuum created an

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White resigned as program director about a decade ago under attack from opponents who say he was just "phoning it in" at WBAI and refusing to make necessary program changes that might threaten his power base. White told me he felt forced out when he lost the support of Amy Goodman, his former partner.

EMPIRE STATE OF BLUES

Berthold Reimers rose from local board member to Station Manager at WBAI nine years ago. He had business acumen but little broadcast experience; still, by hard work, he managed to extricate WBAI from it's terrible lease with the Empire State Building. The near financial meltdown caused by the lease had forced Pacifica's then Executive Director Summer Reese in 2013 to fire two-thirds of WBAI's staff, including its entire news department.

Yet, during Reimers' watch, the station was beginning to stabilize and lay the groundwork for a rebirth. Pacifica hired

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Even as the bait and switch was going on in New York courtrooms, WBAI was unaware that a another boot heel was about to drop in a courtroom nearly 3000 miles away in Alameda County, California. A suit was filed by a group of PNB members associated with KPFA and Houston station KPFT calling on the California courts to end the Pacifica network's 17 year experiment in listener democracy. The lawsuit claims that the factionalism created within Pacifica by allowing listeners to vote for board members has drastically hampered the ability of the foundation to address its current financial crisis. Their suit demands that John Vernile be given the sole power to select the members of Pacifica's governing board, which would be reduced in size. With near dictatorial power, the Executive Director would be in a position to manage the programming and finances of all the Pacifica stations, while quelling dissent.

Although many Pacifica players see dumping elected boards as a positive outcome, the whole idea is based on the fallacy that Pacifica's problems are rooted in a dysfunctional WBAI. In fact, WBAI may be doing poorly, but so are all the other

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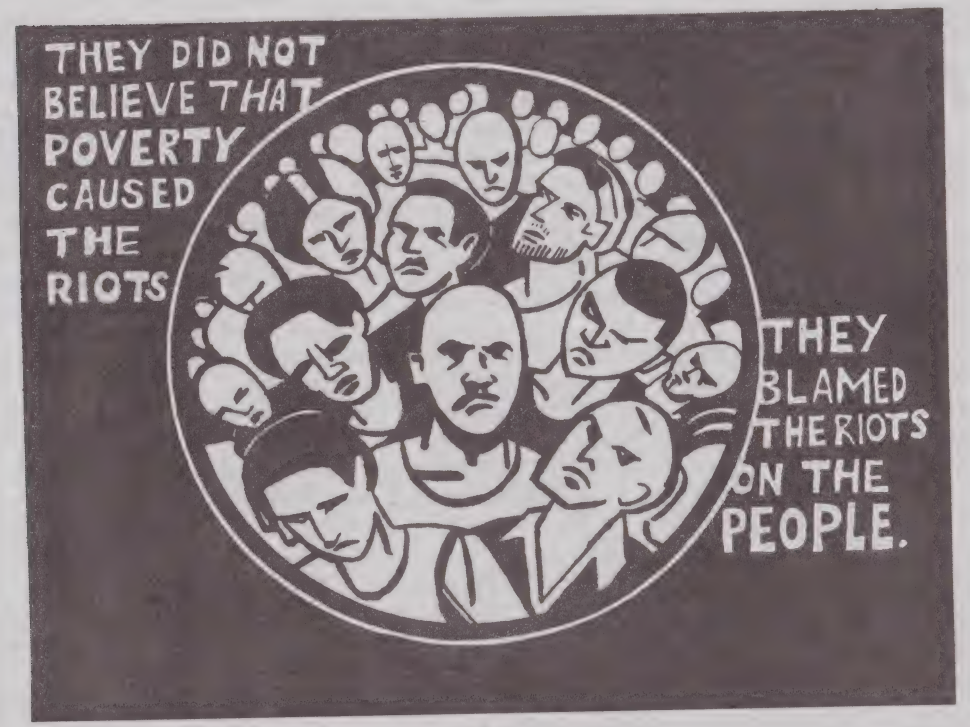
The airwaves are still controversial in the Internet age because they remain the only means of communication that is owned by the people: the airwaves are considered public property. As the Trump administration continues as the greatest challenge to American democracy since the Civil War, WBAI and community radio may rise again as the only means of communication independent of the control of the likes of Mark Zuckerberg, Bill Gates and Jeff Bezos. In a full-tilt corporate lockdown where even the community radio stations of America are vulnerable to takeover by corporatists, publications like **The SHADOW** may become the only remaining means of independent communication. That makes the disposition of WBAI a public matter, more important than personality disputes and petty fights over small amounts of money and power. All progressive people, not just current WBAI listeners, must become involved in saving WBAI if truly independent media are to survive.

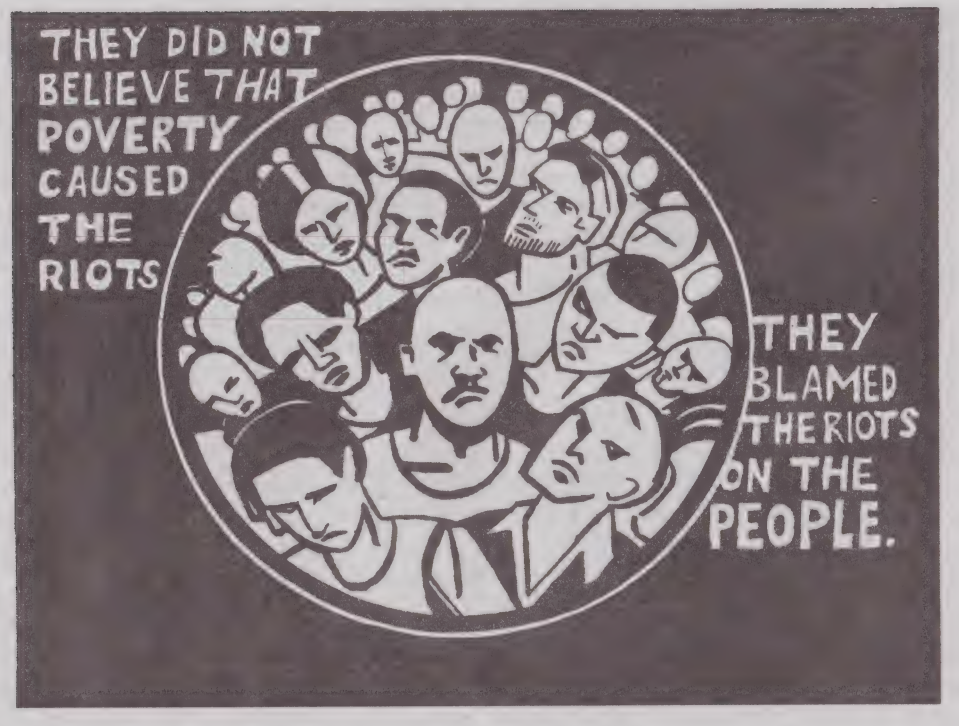
[Paul DeRienzo is news director at WBAI FM, he hosts Let Them Talk on MNN.org every Tuesday at 8pm and the PRN.fm podcast The Torch every Sunday at 1pm]

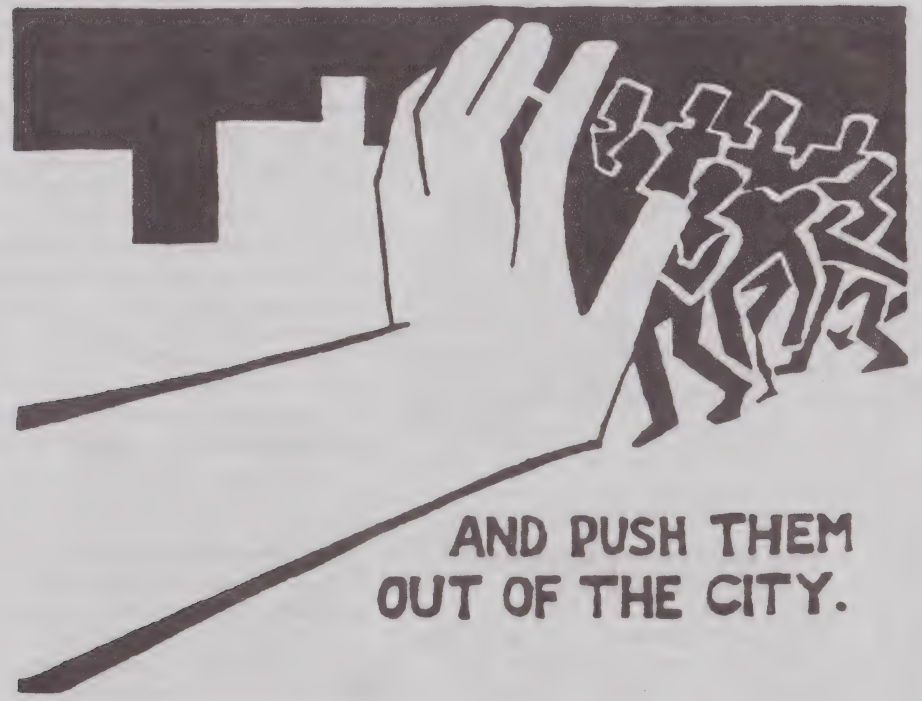
WHAT IS SPATIAL DECONCENTRATION?

BY SETH TOBOCMAN & CHUCK SPERRY
BASED ON AN ARTICLE BY
YULANDA WARD



YULANDA WARD





WHILE "WARE-

THIS PLAN HAS ALREADY RESULTED IN

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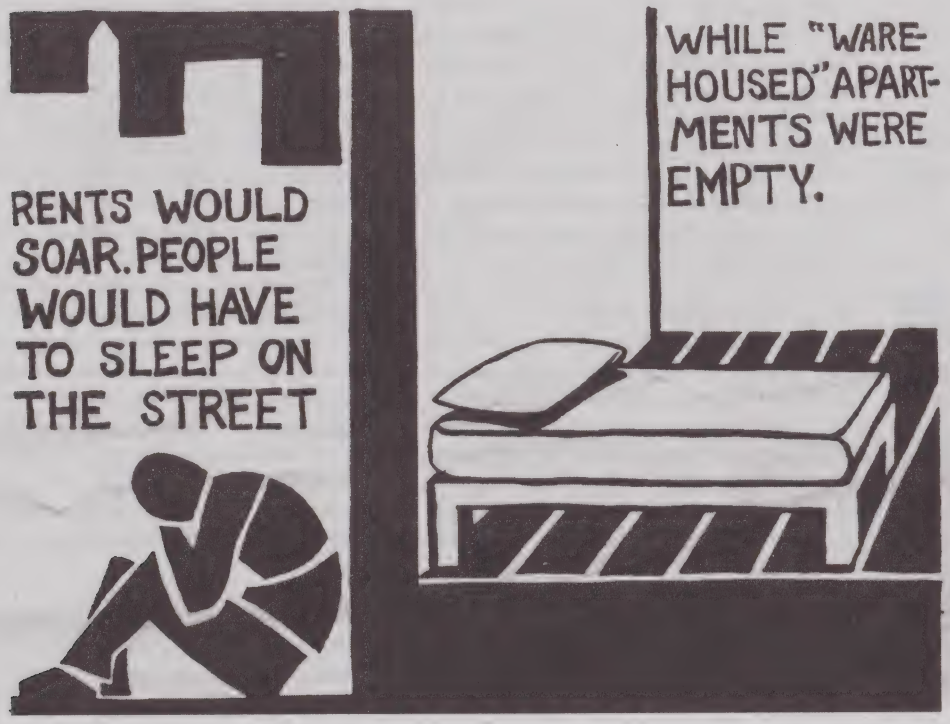
OUT OF THE CITY.

ALREADY BAD AREAS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO GET WORSE. COPS WOULD TURN A BLIND EYE TO DRUGS & ARSON.


RENTS WOULD SOAR. PEOPLE WOULD HAVE TO SLEEP ON THE STREET
WHILE "WARE-HOUSED" APART-MENTS WERE EMPTY.

THIS PLAN HAS ALREADY RESULTED IN A WAVE OF
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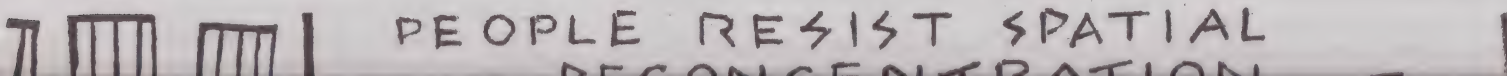
[from the SHADOW.]



[Tobocman in 1986–It has been updated for this issue of The SHADOW.]

[This graphic was originally created by Seth Tobocman in 1986–It has been updated for this issue of The SHA

DOWN BY LAW

DEATH CAN BE A SLOW TRAVELER: PELTIER, MUMIA AND RAP BROWN

By Stanley L. Cohen

When the history of our times is recorded, any volume on domestic political prisoners must, per force, begin with the legendary ones of conscience. To these icons of principle, determination and courage we owe much. It is, after all, not by mere default that they risked, and often paid, all to demand the gale of change sweep away generations of ignorance, hatred and greed that have long fed on communities of color and poverty, from coast to coast, in the United States. For them, it was never about personal risk, for they knew all too well the price that can be exacted for such integrity. For them, the alternative of silence was simply an option without a choice.

LEONARD PELTIER

Leonard Peltier, a founder of the American Indian Movement, is now well into his fourth decade of imprisonment. Wrongfully charged and convicted for the defense of Wounded Knee against an FBI onslaught, his, more than any other continuing political persecution, lays bare the myth that the Department of Justice is committed to the pursuit of truth or equal application of law.

Having failed to secure a conviction in the first trial against his co-defendants, at Peltier's subsequent trial, the government recast, in its entirety, its storyline of what happened that fateful day during the firefight at the Pine Ridge Reservation between some 150 FBI agents, local law enforcement and vigilantes… and forty members of AIM [American Indian Movement].

At the first trial, in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, federal prosecutors argued that two FBI agents were essentially "murdered" during an exchange of gunshots with Native

evidence used against Peltier as "fabricated, circumstantial … misused, concealed, and perverted." Different in tenor and tone, yet, essentially the same in conclusion, during one of Peltier's appeals before the Eight Circuit, his former prosecutor conceded "… we do not know who killed those agents. Further, we don't know what participation, if any, Mr. Peltier had in it."

Ultimately, this candid admission of a government frame proved worthless when Barack Obama denied Peltier's request for a sentence commutation via cryptic email, on January 18, 2017, as he raced out of the oval office, no doubt to ready for his first book signing tour.

Next eligible for parole in 2024, when he is 79 years of age, Leonard Peltier, a Nobel Peace Prize nominee who is essentially wheelchair-bound and suffers from a potential life-threatening internal bleeding condition, is likely to die in prison.

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

The thirst for vengeance is no less voracious in state court prosecutions that target political dissidents. Though state substantive offenses may vary and the rules of evidence change, prosecutors and judges still adhere to an age-old obedient oath that those who forcefully confront and expose institutional power and authority must be called to task… and damn the truth. While examples abound, no clearer one exists then the decades-long political feed on Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Much has been written by and about Abu-Jamal and his journey, over the course of almost 40 years of imprisonment, largely spent on Pennsylvania's death row, as an ever present slit in the veil of institutional isolation and secrecy that conceals its atrocities. And while, for

department's repeated confrontations with MOVE, the communal Black liberation movement that lived in West Philadelphia promoting a revolutionary ideology, like that of the Black Panther Party.

Two major confrontations with the police, one an armed standoff which resulted in the death of an officer and another where a police helicopter dropped a bomb on the MOVE house, causing a fire that killed eleven of its members, including five children, and that destroyed 65 neighborhood homes, best define the tension between a movement which Mumia at first supported and then later joined, and the Philadelphia police.

Can it be mere happenstance that Abu-Jamal's favorable reporting on behalf of the accused, during the trial of the "MOVE Nine" for the death of that officer, presaged his own arrest and prosecution for a like accusation not all that long thereafter?

While legal scholars continue to argue over the weight of evidence at Mumia's trial, there can be no reasoned disagreement over the fact that it was a racially-charged prosecution of a dynamic political dissident from the African American community of Philadelphia in 1982.

Indeed, in exercising eleven out of fourteen peremptory challenges to eliminate prospective black jurors, prosecutors ended up with a jury panel composed of two blacks and ten whites, all but guaranteeing the trier of fact was tainted with racial bias even before it heard the first witness. Years later, any question about Abu-Jamal's trial being fueled by racial hate was further evidenced by an affidavit of a court stenographer who swore that she overheard the trial Judge, Albert Sabo, comment outside the courtroom, "…Yeah, and I'm going to help them fry the nigger."

Against this light, the trial itself was replete with prosecutorial misconduct ranging from suppression of the confession of a man who said he was the actual shooter to the failure to call an eyewitness who told police Mumia was not the gunman. Later, he testified police tore up his original statement and coerced him into signing another one implicating

H. RAP BROWN

To many, Rap Brown is a legendary figure synonymous with revolutionary movements that drove generations of activists in the 1960s, 70s and 80s to confront Jim Crow, the war in Vietnam and systemic class, race and gender-based discrimination through militant action. Now 76 years of age, and known as Jamil Abdullah al Amin, he sits in the United States Penitentiary in Tucson, fighting cancer while doing a life sentence for a state court conviction for a murder that occurred some eighteen years ago. Like so many other prosecutions of high profile black leaders of his day, his is one beset by nagging questions.

Thus, the prosecutor's theory that Abdullah al Amin opened fire on police officers who came to arrest him for his mere failure to appear in court for a speeding ticket beggars the imagination. Given his long history as an iconic leader in the national African American community, his then success in local business and prominence as a Muslim preacher and community activist speaking out against drugs and gambling, this inexplicable act of gratuitous violence would be unimaginable.

At trial, prosecutors argued al Amin had failed to provide an alibi for his whereabouts at the time of the crime. Nor did he offer any explanation for fleeing the state after the shooting or account for why the weapons used in it were found near him at the time of his arrest.

Against this entirely circumstantial evidence, the defense established that al Amin was not wounded during the shootout… as the surviving deputy had reported. That same officer described the killer's eyes as grey… al Amin's are brown. Most important, another man, Otis Jackson, while incarcerated on another charge, confessed to the shooting well before the trial but the court did not allow his confession into evidence. That admission matched essential, and not publicly known, details from 911 calls following the shooting… including a report that a bleeding man was seen limping from the

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At the first trial, in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, federal prosecutors argued that two FBI agents were essentially "murdered" during an exchange of gunshots with Native activists barricaded at an AIM compound located some distance away. Rejecting the assertion the agents were targeted, the jury acquitted the defendants on the basis of self-defense.

After succeeding in moving the second trial to a more favorable government venue in Fargo, North Dakota (long a hotbed of anti-Native animus and violence), federal prosecutors concocted a new strategy. Using a patchwork of evidence built of altered or suppressed testimony to remake a case already soundly rejected, prosecutors rewrote the script to one in which the agents were executed by close range gun shots to their heads. Because of this dramatic shift, Peltier was precluded from submitting any self-defense testimony. Inexplicably, the new judge also prevented the defense from establishing, at trial, that the FBI had a proven history… in Native prosecutions… of tampering with evidence and witnesses.

Unlike the first trial, where prosecutors introduced evidence that agents had been pursuing a red pickup truck before the shootout, this time they testified they were

a sentence commutation via cryptic email, on January 18, 2017, as he raced out of the oval office, no doubt to ready for his first book signing tour.

Next eligible for parole in 2024, when he is 79 years of age, Leonard Peltier, a Nobel Peace Prize nominee who is essentially wheelchair-bound and suffers from a potential life-threatening internal bleeding condition, is likely to die in prison.

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

The thirst for vengeance is no less voracious in state court prosecutions that target political dissidents. Though state substantive offenses may vary and the rules of evidence change, prosecutors and judges still adhere to an age-old obedient oath that those who forcefully confront and expose institutional power and authority must be called to task… and damn the truth. While examples abound, no clearer one exists then the decades-long political feed on Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Much has been written by and about Abu-Jamal and his journey, over the course of almost 40 years of imprisonment, largely spent on Pennsylvania's death row, as an ever present slit in the veil of institutional isolation and secrecy that conceals its atrocities. And while, for some, debate continues over whether he pulled the trigger in the shooting death of a Philadelphia police officer, no such disagreement concerns his life as a community activist and full-time challenge to its notoriously corrupt police department and office of the District Attorney.

After his beating by white supremacists, as a mere teen, Mumia found his voice through the Black Panther Party, a chapter of which he helped to found in Philadelphia, eventually becoming "Lieutenant of Information" responsible for writing its policy positions and news releases.

Like many others, Mumia was targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO [COunter INTELligence PROgram], which in Philadelphia drew upon the cooperation of local police as they targeted community activists and dissidents. Across the country, black "radical" groups were infiltrated and disrupted with hundreds of their members physically attacked, falsely charged and imprisoned; more than a few the subject of outright government assassination.

Over the years, Mumia became a

thereafter?

While legal scholars continue to argue over the weight of evidence at Mumia's trial, there can be no reasoned disagreement over the fact that it was a racially-charged prosecution of a dynamic political dissident from the African American community of Philadelphia in 1982.

Indeed, in exercising eleven out of fourteen peremptory challenges to eliminate prospective black jurors, prosecutors ended up with a jury panel composed of two blacks and ten whites, all but guaranteeing the trier of fact was tainted with racial bias even before it heard the first witness. Years later, any question about Abu-Jamal's trial being fueled by racial hate was further evidenced by an affidavit of a court stenographer who swore that she overheard the trial Judge, Albert Sabo, comment outside the courtroom, "…Yeah, and I'm going to help them fry the nigger."

Against this light, the trial itself was replete with prosecutorial misconduct ranging from suppression of the confession of a man who said he was the actual shooter to the failure to call an eyewitness who told police Mumia was not the gunman. Later, he testified police tore up his original statement and coerced him into signing another one implicating Abu-Jamal. Other witnesses subsequently claimed they had seen another person fleeing from the scene of the shooting. Though this other person's presence at the crime was known to prosecutors at the time of the trial, it was concealed from the jury. Forensic evidence connecting Mumia to the crime was no more reliable. For example, the coroner testified at trial that the bullet extracted from the deceased was a .38 caliber round which matched the weapon recovered from Mumia. At the time of the autopsy he noted in his official medical examiner records that it was a .44-caliber.

In April, Abu-Jamal prevailed in his decades-old battle to obtain justice when the current Philadelphia District Attorney withdrew his opposition to his de novo appeal, based upon a conflict of interest by the former Pennsylvania Chief Justice, Ronald Castille, who oversaw Mumia's state court appeals between 1998 and 2012. Castille, an avid supporter of the death penalty, with close ties to police unions, had been Philadelphia's District Attorney during the early years of Abu-Ja-

speeding ticket beggars the imagination. Given his long history as an iconic leader in the national African American community, his then success in local business and prominence as a Muslim preacher and community activist speaking out against drugs and gambling, this inexplicable act of gratuitous violence would be unimaginable.

At trial, prosecutors argued al Amin had failed to provide an alibi for his whereabouts at the time of the crime. Nor did he offer any explanation for fleeing the state after the shooting or account for why the weapons used in it were found near him at the time of his arrest.

Against this entirely circumstantial evidence, the defense established that al Amin was not wounded during the shootout… as the surviving deputy had reported. That same officer described the killer's eyes as grey… al Amin's are brown. Most important, another man, Otis Jackson, while incarcerated on another charge, confessed to the shooting well before the trial but the court did not allow his confession into evidence. That admission matched essential, and not publicly known, details from 911 calls following the shooting… including a report that a bleeding man was seen limping from the scene. Jackson said he knocked on doors attempting to obtain a ride while suffering from wounds that he had sustained during his firefight with deputies.

SO MANY MORE

Who among us today remembers the names, let alone the history of Ruchell Magee or Álvaro Luna Hernández or Kamau Sadiki or Kojo Bomani Sababu or Bill Dunne or Joy Powell or Jalil Muntaqimor, Russell Maroon, Shoatsor Edward Poindexter or Romaine Chip Fitzgerald or Joseph Bowen or Fred Burton or Janet Holloway or the other MOVE Nine who remain imprisoned years after evidence showed that the officer they were convicted of killing likely died as a result of friendly fire.? Each of these men and women has been imprisoned for decades; victims of a rush to judgment… of politics and prosecutions and passion all but blinded by the hate and fear of the day.

While movements such as the Black Panther Party, the Black Liberation Army, American Indian Movement and MOVE still resonate among some in a new generation of activists, many of their former

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Unlike the first trial, where prosecutors introduced evidence that agents had been pursuing a red pickup truck before the shootout, this time they testified they were looking for an orange and white van… such as the one that Peltier had been seen using on occasion. Likewise, while an FBI ballistic expert testified that a shell casing recovered near the agents' bodies matched a weapon tied to Peltier, prosecutors suppressed a different ballistic test which proved the casing could not have come from his gun. These changes were part of a conscious effort by government prosecutors to convert the trial… of this high profile political and human rights activist… from a search for truth to a staged performance in which it withheld more than 140,000 pages of discovery from the defense in its desperate drive to convict Peltier, no matter what the truth or the cost.

Nowhere is the nature and extent of the government's misconduct in the persecution of Leonard Peltier better summed up than it was by one of his appellate attorneys, former United States Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who branded the

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Over the years, Mumia became a widely-recognized and respected voice in alternative news while working at various local, and then national, outlets ranging from university radio stations to NPR [National Public Radio] … from which he was eventually fired because of his opinions. Ultimately becoming the President of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists, whenever controversy arose, Mumia was sure to be found providing a platform for dissenting views otherwise silenced by the long-seated powerful of Philadelphia.

Mumia was a relentless critic of the Philadelphia police department… often citing its documented history of excessive force and corruption, including fabricating evidence. He was no less critical of Mayor Frank Rizzo, a former police commissioner, accusing him of fostering an environment rife with systemic racial bias and police brutality.

Nowhere is that more evident than in his damning criticism of the police

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Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu-Jamal are but two of the most prominent long-term political prisoners in the United States today. Meanwhile, dozens of others, now well into their sixties, seventies and older, have also spent decades entombed in maximum security state and federal penitentiaries that crisscross the country.

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While movements such as the Black Panther Party, the Black Liberation Army, American Indian Movement and MOVE still resonate among some in a new generation of activists, many of their former members, now riddled with poor health and buried in prison, have been all but lost to the passage of time, as death can be a slow traveler.

[Movement attorney Stanley L. Cohen has represented and defended people fighting for their rights and for their communities for more than 30 years.]

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WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT "SMART METERS" AND "5G"

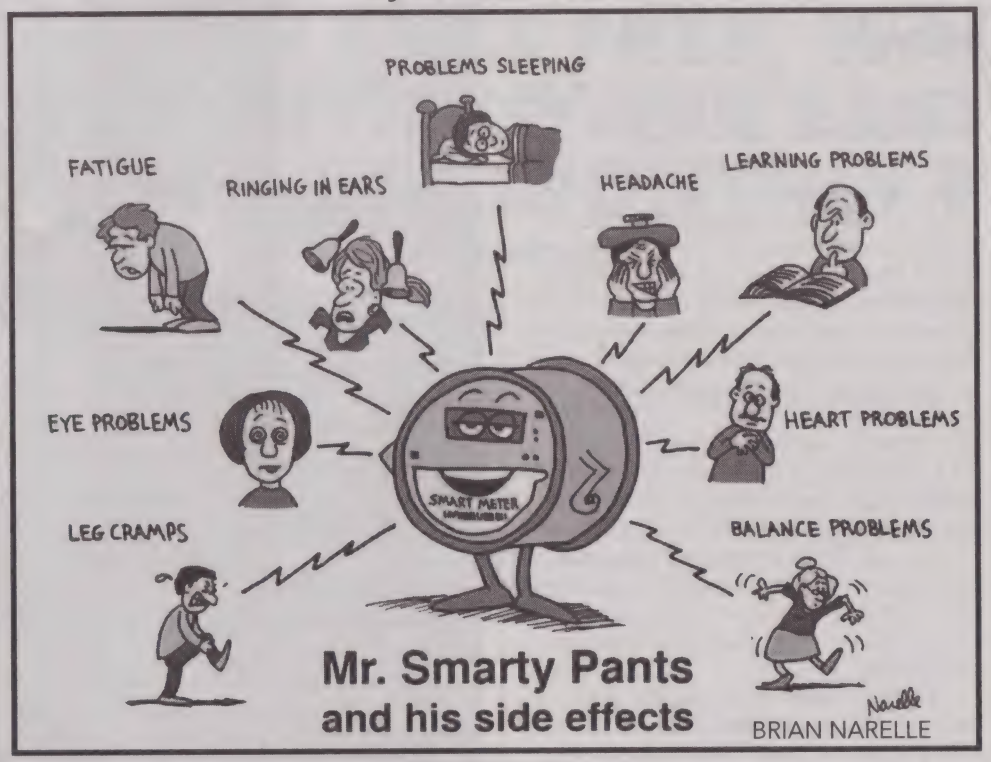
By Les Jamieson

Utility companies throughout the US are in the process of replacing safe analog meters with digital "smart meters," which operate on Wi Fi and emit radio frequencies [RFs]. The meters communicate electronically with utility companies to report energy usage. The utilities say that smart meters benefit consumers by determining sources of energy usage and detecting outages. But there are important issues they fail to report.

For example, they fail to report that there are thousands of peer reviewed studies showing serious health risks caused by RFs and smart meters. They fail to report that thousands of people have endured serious health symptoms traceable to smart meters and electromagnetic frequencies. They fail to report that the FCC [Federal Communications Commission] safety guidelines they cite are out-dated and out of context. They fail to report that certain utilities have installed defective meters which have caused fires and damaged homes. They also fail to report that many consumers have seen their electric bills skyrocket after installation of a smart meter.

New York City gas and electric service provider Con Edison has been installing smart meters throughout the NYC metropolitan area and in other regions in the state for several years. Most consumers receive a notice beforehand that provides a phone number to call in order to opt out. Failure to do so signifies acceptance. Due to absence of information from government agencies and media, consumers are being blind sided because they lack the ability to make an informed decision. There are also cases where people have not received a notice but are being told that installation of a smart meter is mandatory. This is false.

THE HEALTH ISSUE: Smart meters emit pulses lasting milliseconds as many as 190,000 times per day. They also have an "antenna effect" which transmits high



terrorism. Both the utility industry and criminals can use these devices to further invade our privacy. Utilities can even shut off our power or appliances remotely, as well as charge higher rates during peak usage periods. Con Edison already has plans for testing "congestion pricing."

THE "INTERNET OF THINGS" [IOT]: We are being transitioned to a world where appliances, wearable digital devices, driverless cars, and municipal systems are all connected through wireless technology which we are totally immersed in. This is the 5G, or 5th Generation wireless world, being depicted as the next new transformational technology we won't be able to live without. Already, "big box" stores like Costco and Best Buy, offer items like light bulbs, security cameras, doorbells, and digital assistants that are all controlled by phone apps. You would think there would be limits to what would

well as our neighborhood. Smart meters communicate with each other before data is sent from a hub to the utility. This adds greatly to electronic signals penetrating our bodies. Therefore, it is vital for homes and businesses to make a joint effort to refuse smart meters and 5G cells. Even if meters are hidden in a basement, unless there is a metal or lead barrier, RFs can have negative effects within a building and from house to house.

THE EVEN GREATER OMINOUS POTENTIAL: There is an even darker side to the reality of 5G and the smart meter grid. These technologies are leading to a world where homes, devices, cars, healthcare systems, and cities are part of a huge information and control grid. Cyber security will become much harder to ensure. Hackers will be able to penetrate, sabotage, and cause life threatening damage and financial ruin.

principles of freedom, integrity, justice, and protection from out-of-control corporate agendas. Can our government be trusted to preserve our safety, privacy, and Constitutional rights?

THE CORPORATE/INDUSTRIAL/ CONGRESSIONAL COMPLEX: Adding insult to injury, this assault on the well being of the planet is fully backed by the FCC, telecom and utility industries, mainstream media, and the financial establishment. There are already glossy advertisements on TV, in print, and even in subway cars, promoting what could be the most grand scale deception in modern history. Corporations and financial reports are promoting 5G as the new frontier to conquer and establish global dominance. It is the modern day gold rush and the US must compete with China's Huawei to win the race to trillions in profits as well as complete invasion of privacy. Very few politicians have come forward to sound the warning bell.

We are witnessing an all out push to implement 5G and smart meter technologies, caution be damned. Now we must demand that industry leaders, agencies such as the FCC and FDA, proponents in media and Wall Street, and elected officials be the ones to receive 5G cells on their homes and places of business. They must we willing to expose their families as the experimental objects in co-ordinated scientific studies to first prove to the public that 5G and smart meters are safe for human health and the environment.

THE SAFE, LOGICAL ALTERNATIVE: Fast, reliable access to the wealth of information on the internet has been a transformation comparable to the invention of the printing press. The last two generations have come to rely on this unprecedented access to information and services which has become the new "normal." Advanced web and communications technologies have many positive aspects in commerce, healthcare, the sciences, and the arts.

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There have been thousands of peer reviewed clinical studies pointing to hazards caused by electro magnetic frequencies [EMFs], which include radio frequencies. The World Health Organization has determined that "RF radiation in the frequency range 30 kHz 300 GHz, is a Group 2B, i.e., a 'possible' human carcinogen." Conversely, there are no articles that say radio frequencies cause no harm to health. The industry claims that smart meters are safe, but this is according to their own research and misleading government guidelines.

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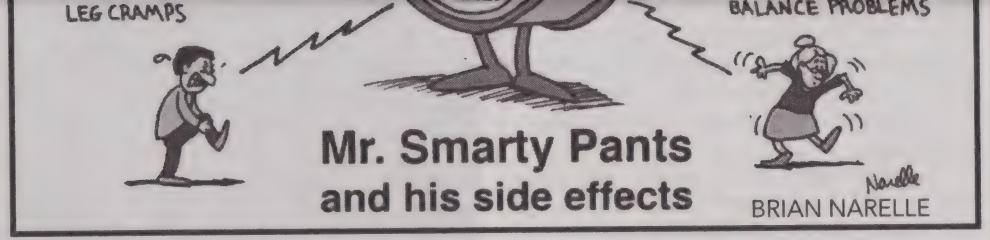

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THE RIGHTS ISSUE: Any policy, technology, or product meant for widespread use should be fully explained by government and industry, and thoroughly understood by the public as part of what we should expect as a social contract between government and constituents. With smart meters and 5G, this has not taken place. Utility and telecom industries have used deceptive methods to influence policy by withholding information, making false statements, manipulating the Public Service Commission, and using

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Currently, there are plans by Elon Musk's company, SpaceEx, by OneWeb, and others to launch as many as 20,000 satellites to send beams of 5G millimeter waves to blanket the entire planet. There will be no escape from irreparable damage, which science is showing. Furthermore, 5G will interfere with weather forecasting. According to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, " 5G interference could set the accuracy of weather forecasts back 40 years." This is due to inaccuracies in measuring water vapor in the atmosphere. Imagine losing the capability to predict the "super storms" that have caused many deaths and hundreds of billions of dollars in damages, even with advanced warning. As it is, according to various scientific studies, 5G will cause damage to our eyes, and cause our sweat glands to act like antennae, absorbing the millimeter frequencies.

In addition, the Department of Defense has developed a crowd control weapon called the Active Denial System [ADS]. ADS works by firing a high powered beam of 95GHz waves at people – that is,

conquer and establish global dominance. It is the modern day gold rush and the US must compete with China's Huawei to win the race to trillions in profits as well as complete invasion of privacy. Very few politicians have come forward to sound the warning bell.

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WHAT YOU CAN DO: You can opt out and refuse the installation of smart meters. Call 800 576 2005. Ask when they plan to install smart meters in your neighborhood. Ask for instructions on how to opt out. As of now, Con Edison charges $9.50 per month, which is another issue. Residents need to organize to oppose this. Do not delay because after a customer receives a notice of smart meter installation, it could be less than 60 days before it is installed. Better yet, you can participate in an administrative process known as a Notice of Liability or Conditional Acceptance. More can be learned at: support.inpowermovement.com.

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Utility providers are large corporations mainly concerned with profit. Similarly, tobacco companies claimed that cigarettes didn't cause cancer. They were proven wrong after millions of deaths due to lung cancer. There are many more examples of untested or inadequately-tested products marketed to an unsuspecting public. These include pharmaceutical drugs, pesticides, and recently, vaping products. Likewise, smart meters and 5G, which add to already existing levels of EMF pollution, causing a cumulative effect, have not been tested by industry sources and proven safe. In a Senate hearing on February 7, Richard Blumenthal (D CT) asked a telecom executive directly whether 5G has been tested for safety -- the answer was "NO." Subsequently, no supporting evidence has ever been supplied. Blumenthal commented "We're flying blind here."

THE PRIVACY ISSUE: Smart meters track a lot of details about us in our homes. They can identify what appliances and devices we use. They detect our behavior patterns. This is information that can be sold to corporations for marketing purposes. Also, since smart meters are part of a giant digital grid, they can be "hacked" either by petty thieves or through cyber

stores like Costco and Best Buy, offer items like light bulbs, security cameras, doorbells, and digital assistants that are all controlled by phone apps. You would think there would be limits to what would be presented for mass consumption in the IOT. With the ability to connect tiny computer chips and RFID sensors into anything, there really is no limit. Consider "smart diapers" which signal when your baby's diaper needs changing. It is clear that the future is now: on September 26, Verizon announced that the rollout of 5G in New York City has begun in several locations. Concurrently, smart meters will play a major role in this giant information and control grid to track and report which devices are being used and for how long.

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WHY THIS IS A NEIGHBORHOOD ISSUE: Exposure to RFs is cumulative. We are already surrounded by RFs from cell phones, routers, cordless phones, and microwave ovens. Now add pulsed radiation from smart meters in our homes, as

rity will become much harder to ensure. Hackers will be able to penetrate, sabotage, and cause life threatening damage and financial ruin.

Currently, there are plans by Elon Musk's company, SpaceEx, by OneWeb, and others to launch as many as 20,000 satellites to send beams of 5G millimeter waves to blanket the entire planet. There will be no escape from irreparable damage, which science is showing. Furthermore, 5G will interfere with weather forecasting. According to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, " 5G interference could set the accuracy of weather forecasts back 40 years." This is due to inaccuracies in measuring water vapor in the atmosphere. Imagine losing the capability to predict the "super storms" that have caused many deaths and hundreds of billions of dollars in damages, even with advanced warning. As it is, according to various scientific studies, 5G will cause damage to our eyes, and cause our sweat glands to act like antennae, absorbing the millimeter frequencies.

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What about 5G technology being used to further invade privacy through high-powered surveillance and facial recognition coming from transmission cells every 500 feet throughout our neighborhoods? China has already established widespread technology targeting millions of faces, and the way people walk. This technology is being marketed to countries around the world. Now is the time for the US to take a stand upholding our

has become the new "normal." Advanced web and communications technologies have many positive aspects in commerce, healthcare, the sciences, and the arts. However, rather than be subjected to the dangers of 5G and being part of a human experiment without our consent, there is actually a safe alternative: fiber optic networks. This could be a huge, job creating infrastructure project.

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WHY COMMUNITIES MUST WORK TOGETHER: If your neighbors have smart meters, especially if they are placed in front of a house, EMF pulses are emitted openly as people pass by. This is why it is vital to work with everyone on your block to opt out or submit a Notice of Liability. People need to show powerful corporations and their allies in various state agencies that we are informed, we are organized, and will take action to preserve our health, our right to privacy and our right to be safe on our own property.

Continued On Page 20

EXPLOSIVES USED ON 9/11, SAY FIRE COMMISSIONERS!!

By Craig McKee

For the first time ever, an elected body in the United States is stating that it is "beyond any doubt" that explosives – not plane impacts and fires alone – destroyed the three World Trade Center towers on Sept. 11, 2001.

Commissioners from the Franklin Square and Munson Fire District, located near Queens, New York, unanimously passed a historic resolution on July 24, that calls for a new investigation into all aspects of 9/11 and which cites "overwhelming evidence" that explosives were planted in all three towers prior to 9/11. The resolution states that the district's Board of Fire Commissioners "fully supports a comprehensive federal grand jury investigation and prosecution of every crime related to the attacks of September 11…"

"It was a mass murder," Commissioner Christopher Gioia said in an interview. "Three thousand people were murdered in cold blood." Gioia, who wrote and introduced the resolution, says the toll on his department from the events of that day has been devastating. Members Thomas J. Hetzel and Robert Evans died at Ground Zero on 9/11. Others, including commissioners Philip Malloy and Joseph Torregrossa, have become ill from exposure to the toxic air during rescue and recovery operations.

"We're not leaving our brothers behind," Gioia said. "We're not forgetting about them. They deserve justice, and we're going to see that justice is done."

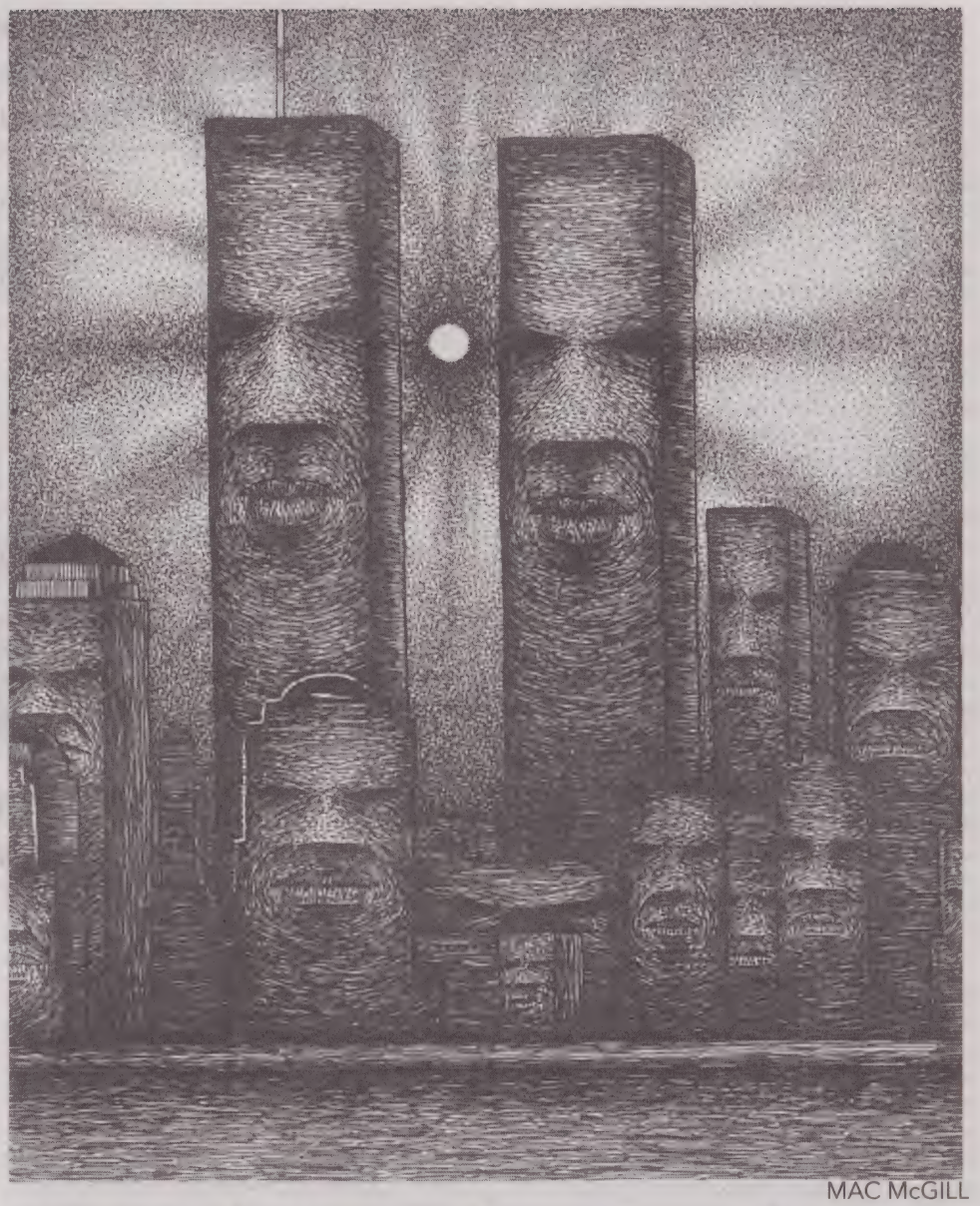
Ever since a friend alerted him several years ago to the seemingly inexplicable collapse of Building 7, Gioia has poured his passion and time into researching the subject. He found that despite there being only small and isolated fires on just a few floors, the 47-story building came down symmetrically, into its own footprint, in just under seven seconds, on 9/11.

The official investigation into the collapse was conducted by the National Institute of Standards and Technology [NIST] – an agency under the U.S. Department of Commerce – which somehow concluded that normal office fires were responsible for the failure of the structure. But the findings of independent 9/11 researchers working with Architects & Engineers for 9/11 Truth [AE911Truth] later forced NIST to admit that the building came down at free fall for at least one third of its seven second fall. This is something that could only happen if all the supporting columns failed virtually simultaneously. Despite this admission, NIST sticks to its original conclusion.

Gioia decided to take action when he learned that the Lawyers' Committee for 9/11 Inquiry had submitted to Geoffrey Berman, the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, a petition containing powerful evidence that contradicts the official 9/11 story. Berman agreed to comply with the law requiring him to empanel a special grand jury to examine this evidence. Although he may not yet have followed through, the Lawyers' Committee continues to apply pressure.

UNIVERSITY STUDY CONFIRMS FIRES NOT THE CAUSE

The fire district resolution is not the only dramatic development on the 9/11 front in recent days and weeks. In March, a joint federal lawsuit was launched against



MAC McGILL

the FBI by AE911Truth, the Lawyers' Committee, and family members of 9/11 victims. It contends that the agency has failed to perform a congressionally-mandated assessment of 9/11 evidence known to it that was not considered by the 9/11 Commission.

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simultaneous failure of all columns in the building and not a progressive collapse involving the sequential failure of columns throughout the building."

The Hulsey study will be unveiled at events in Fairbanks, Alaska, and Berkeley, California. Comments on the draft study will be welcomed until the end of October, after which a final version will be released.

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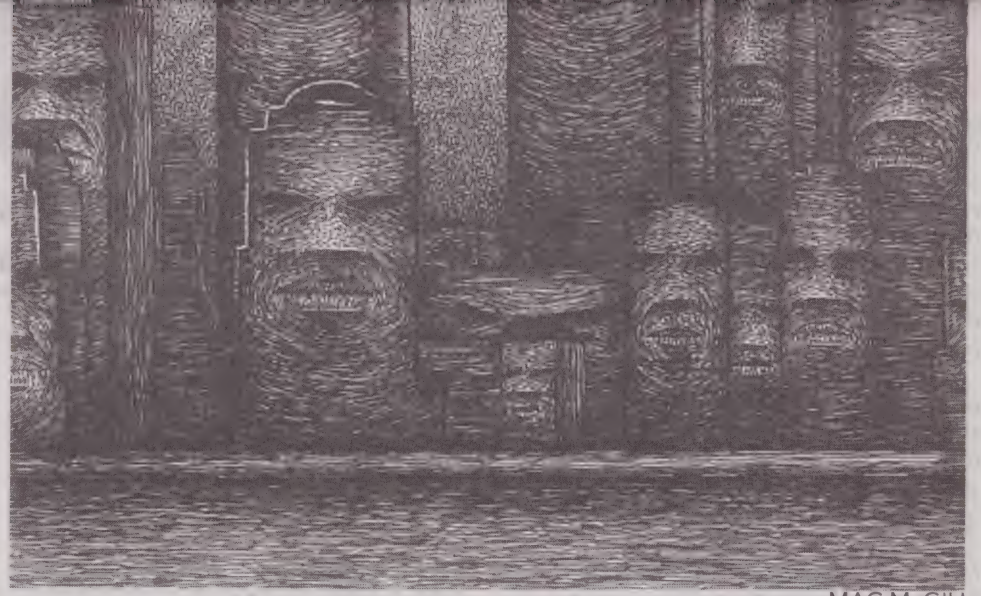

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The executive summary of the study states: "… fires could not have caused weakening or displacement of structural members capable of initiating any of the hypothetical local failures alleged to have triggered the total collapse of the building, nor could any local failures, even if they had occurred, have triggered a sequence of failures that would have resulted in the observed total collapse."

This leads Hulsey and his colleagues to this: "It is our conclusion, based upon these findings, that the collapse of WTC 7 was a global failure involving the near simultaneous failure of all columns in the building and not a progressive collapse involving the sequential failure of columns throughout the building."

The Hulsey study will be unveiled at events in Fairbanks, Alaska, and Berkeley, California. Comments on the draft study will be welcomed until the end of October, after which a final version will be released.

This is just the latest major move to spread the truth about 9/11 to a much wider public and to get justice for those who died both that day and in the subsequent wars that were launched using 9/11 as justification.

"I would say to anybody who believes in this country that it's time to make a stand; you can't let this go," Gioia says. "Because if they're going to murder 3,000 people, what are they going to do next?"

[Craig McKee is an award-winning Montreal journalist who has contributed to numerous publications over the past 30 years. He is a writer for AE911Truth as well as creator of the website Truth and Shadows (truthandshadows.com). For more information on the evidence, see web sites of Architects & Engineers for 9/11 Truth (ae911truth.org) and the Lawyers' Committee for 9/11 Inquiry (lcfor911.org).]

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This is the World Trade Center being blown up.

Look at the evidence.

Don't be complicit in the lie.

TruthandShadows.com

SHADOW BOOK REVIEW

WHERE DID THE TOWERS GO?

Evidence of Directed Free-Energy Technology on 9/11

By Dr. Judy Wood

Book Review by Bill Not Bored

[Editor's note: While it is obvious to an ever-increasing number of people that three World Trade Center towers (#1, #2 and #7) were brought down on September 11, 2001 by well-placed charges and other explosives, due to the fact that the towers collapsed in a manner that defied physics and that almost all of the contents of those buildings were pulverized (no desks, computers, filing cabinets etc), it has become clear to members of the 9/11 Truth movement and the investigative community at large that something more contributed to the demolitions of the three towers. What follows may be seen as an incredible science fiction scenario, yet it may not be so incredible after all.]

"Neither honor nor glory can be taken from you; just consider who you are, and think that no one is making war on you except yourself."
-- Sebastiano del Piombo, writing to Michelangelo Buonarroti, 1514

I daresay that most, if not all, of the readers of this newspaper do not believe the truthfulness of the official stories told by the mass media and much of the "alternative" press, the Bush and subsequent presidential administrations, the Federal Emergency Management Agency [FEMA], the National Institute of Standards and Technology [NIST], and the 9/11 Commission that the collapse of three buildings at the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 was caused by a combination of three factors: the impact of hijacked

11, 2001 was a tremendous amount of air-borne dust, debris expelled horizontally at high speeds, top-down collapses, a relatively small debris field that included precious few chunks of concrete, steel beams and support columns or office furniture, and relatively calm seismic activity. Each tower contained a half million tons of building materials (WTC 7 contained a quarter million tons). Had these buildings been brought down by controlled demolitions, they would have smashed through, crushed and filled with debris the garages, loading docks and subway tunnels and stations that lay beneath them. The collapsing buildings might even have ruptured the man-made "bathtub" that was constructed beneath the complex, which was necessary to keep the Hudson River out, thereby flooding all of lower Manhattan. And yet none of this happened.

But if there weren't controlled demolitions (demolitions caused by high explosives) at the WTC, then what destroyed the buildings? What can account for the fact that the Twin Towers and virtually all that they contained were turned into dust in mid-air? (You don't believe me? Go back and look carefully at the videos—there are dozens of them online—and see for yourself, especially the video in which then NY State Governor George Pataki speaks of the incredible "pulverization" of the buildings' reinforced concrete blocks.)

To my knowledge, there is only one alternative investigator—call her a "9/11 Truther" if you wish—who has asked these questions, who has pointed out these obvious facts, who has insisted that these

changed course and headed back out to sea after the terrorizing attacks had been carried out at the WTC complex. This has raised other questions about manipulation and weaponization of weather-related natural disasters.

If Dr. Wood's hypothesis is true, then the events of September 11, 2001 were not merely a "false flag" operation (an atrocity to be blamed on one's enemies); they were also an open air test and demonstration of the destructive capabilities of a brand new weapon, one that is far more terrible than the hydrogen bomb.

Perhaps because she is not an ideologue, because she isn't interested in precisely who used directed free energy as a weapon on September 11, 2001, and because she refrains from blaming the usual suspects (the CIA and the Mossad) or denouncing the proponents of the controlled-demolition theory as dupes or government agents, Dr. Wood has received a fair hearing from several other alternative investigators, including Andrew Johnson and Morgan Reynold. The same cannot be said for the editors of Wikipedia, who have apparently agreed that her hypothesis cannot be discussed or even mentioned on its pages.

Do not read **WHERE DID THE TOWERS GO?** if you wish to have all of your questions answered. It doesn't address the inability of NORAD to protect the air space around New York City and Washington, DC, the absence of plane wreckage at the Pentagon and in a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, where two of the four allegedly hijacked planes allegedly crashed, or the reasons why WTC 7 didn't collapse until 5:20pm on September 11, 2001.

Read Wood's book, or watch her many videotaped presentations, if you wish to wipe the slate clean and start again, at the beginning, with the facts, to educate someone who knows little or nothing about what took place, and to prepare yourself for what the future holds.

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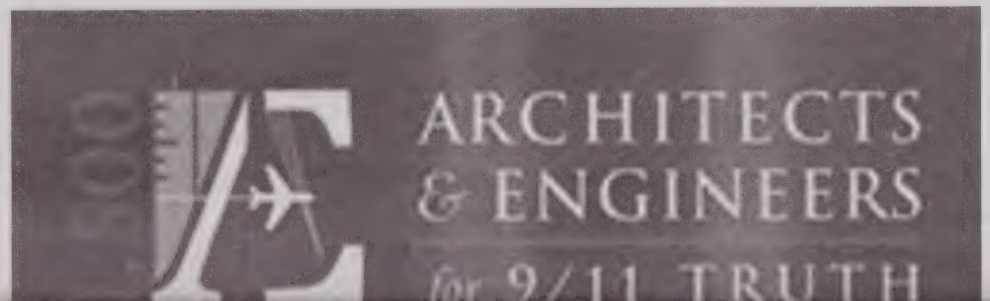

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SHADOW readers probably know that WTC Building 7 was not struck by an airplane on that day; they know that WTC Buildings 1 and 2 (the Twin Towers) were not brought down by either "pancake" or "pile driver" effects. They no doubt believe what many alternative investigators in the 9/11 Truth movement and their own eyes have shown them: that all three of these steel-framed high-rises were brought down by controlled demolitions.

Because it takes a great deal of time, advance preparation and expertise to rig a building for a controlled-demolition, our readers, no doubt, have already concluded that 9/11 was "an inside job." That is to say, it was in fact perpetrated by the government of the United States and not by Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda terrorist organization. Why? To provide unquestionable justification for (1) imperialist military interventions into and subsequent long-term occupations of Afghanistan (October 2001) and Iraq (March 2003), both of which have abundant supplies of oil and other valuable natural resources

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Dr. Wood is also the author of a massive book of documentation and scientific analysis titled **WHERE DID THE TOWERS GO?** Published in 2010, her book offers the hypothesis that only the use of directed free energy could adequately account for what took place on September 11, 2001. Indeed, only the use of some kind of free energy weapon could account for some of the anomalous and little-publicized results of the events of

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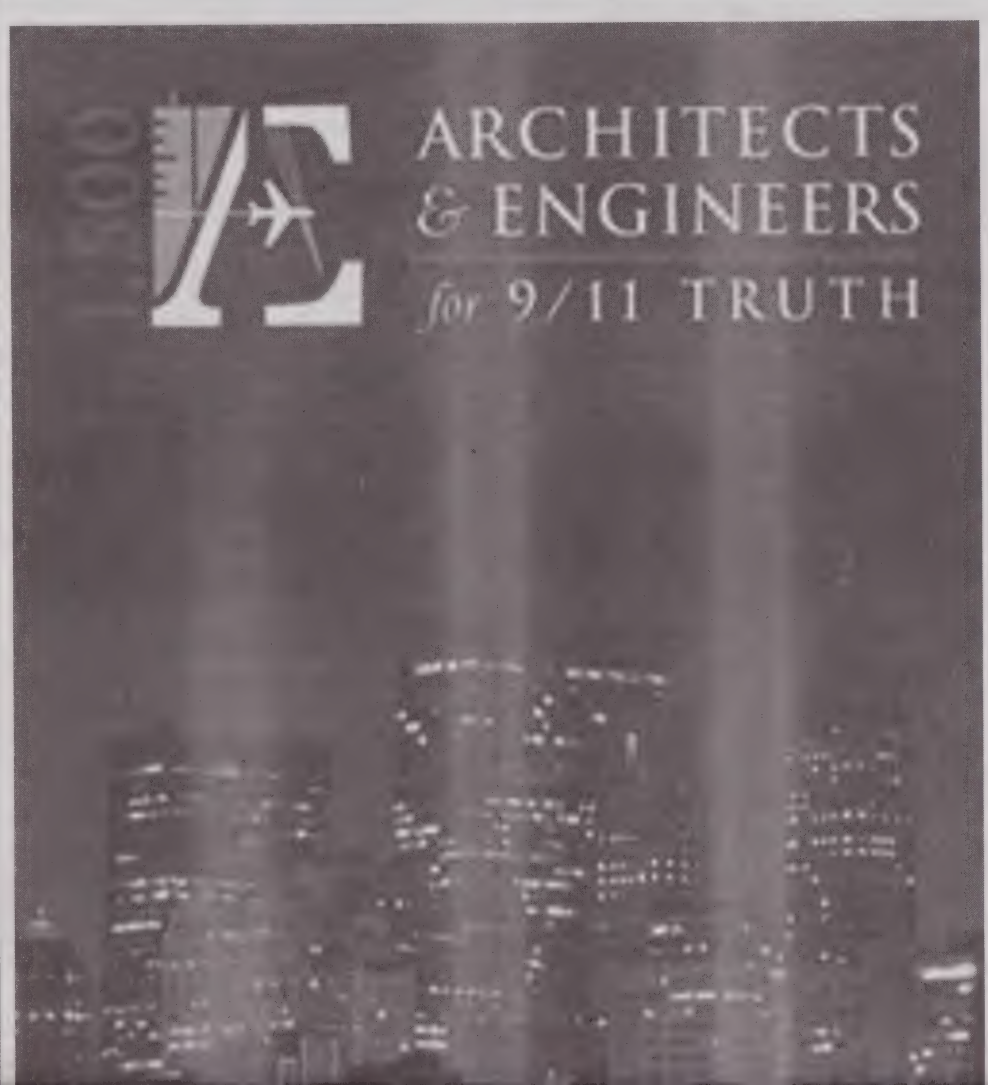

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But were those buildings actually brought down by controlled demolitions? There are good reasons not to believe so. Controlled demolitions do not fill the air with dust for hours and hours after explosions have concluded. Even though they are "surgical" operations designed not to damage surrounding buildings, controlled demolitions work from the bottom up, do not expel debris horizontally at high speeds, leave behind large quantities of debris, nor cause significant seismic activity.

And yet what we saw—what everyone saw – at the WTC complex on September

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Unknown to the general public, free energy has been investigated by various scientists (including Nikola Tesla) for the past one hundred years. Its effects have been reproduced in the laboratory by several contemporary researchers, including John Hutchison, and it has been researched and developed in secret by the US military since the 1960s.

Because a static energy field is one of the requirements for the release of free energy, and because hurricanes are one of the natural causes of such fields, Dr. Wood's hypothesis has generated new interest in the fact that, on September 11, 2001, Hurricane Erin, which was just a few miles away from and apparently headed straight towards New York City, suddenly

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NEW YORK CANNABIS LEGALIZATION: WILL THE GOVERNMENT DECIDE ON THE WINNERS AND LOSERS?

By Kimberleigh Krepp

In December 2018, the New York Medical Cannabis Industry Association [NYMCIA] submitted a 29-page report to Governor Andrew Cuomo, offering their unsolicited ideas on recreational cannabis, with an entire chapter dedicated to warning against New Yorkers cultivating their own cannabis. The report claims that:

- Home grown will make it impossible for the state to eliminate the black market.
- Home grown will make it impossible for law enforcement to distinguish between legal and illegal products, thus frustrating enforcement efforts.
- Home grown will undermine the state's harm reduction goal of ensuring that cannabis sold in New York State is grown without noxious pesticides or other contaminants.
- Home grown will undermine the state's public health interest in ensuring that cannabis sold in New York State is tested, packaged, and labeled correctly.
- Home grown will cost the state tax revenue, thus hindering the state's ability to fund priorities such as drug abuse treatment and community investment.

Has Cuomo thrown his support behind a ban on home cultivation on behalf of already entrenched pot groups?

NYMCIA is comprised of numerous large cannabis companies, such as ETAIN, COLUMBIA CARE, PHARMACANA, THE BOTANIST, ACREAGE HOLDINGS, VIREO HEALTH and MED MEN, although MedMen was recently removed from the group over racist remarks made by company executives. Giving the perception of a quid pro quo, executives and lobbyists for cannabis companies in New York state have made contributions totaling hundreds of thousands of dollars to Cuomo's gubernatorial campaign.

Andrew Modlin, CEO of MedMen, donated $25,000 the day before the company opened a dispensary on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. The MedMen Opportunity Minnesota to New York. The case, which currently sits in one of Minnesota's highest state courts, includes allegations that the oil was sold illegally to patients and tested at the state government's Wadsworth Center Laboratories in Albany. Meanwhile, Vireo Health has medical marijuana dispensaries in White Plains and Johnson City in New York, and Vireo has announced its takeover of Mayflower Botanicals Inc. as part of its cannabis empire expansion strategy across nine states. Vireo officials say that the $10 million acquisition includes 73 acres of land in Massachusetts zoned for the production, processing and distribution of medical cannabis, with an "expedited path toward adult use", describing the deal as part of their plan to advocate and sell legalized recreational cannabis.

ETAIN is also set to receive a package of tax breaks and sales tax exemptions in Glens Falls, NY, including a seven year pilot payment in lieu of taxes agreement, under which the company will pay current taxes on the land for the first three years, but no taxes on improvements, including a new building. In years 4 - 7, ETAIN will continue to pay taxes on the land, along with only 50% tax on improvements. Company officials said previously that they would only hire 10 employees to start, perhaps growing to 30 in the future.

Peckham Industries, a 91-year-old politically active road construction company in White Plains, has hundreds of thousands of dollars invested in real estate and other assets connected to ETAIN. In 2015, Hillary Peckham, chief operating officer of ETAIN, declined to answer questions about connections between Peckham Industries and the medical marijuana business, including several related to financial investments and leadership roles. "This information is proprietary and critical to our corporate structure," she said. ETAIN is also expanding to California, where it plans to compete in that state's medical

ounces

- Add marijuana to the definition of "smoking" under Public Health Law so that smoking marijuana will be prohibited in any circumstances where smoking tobacco is prohibited by law

In a NY State Senate press release, Senate Majority Leader Andrea Stewart-Cousins said: "Communities of color have borne the brunt of New York State's marijuana drug laws. Our justice system directly reflects who we are as a society and that is why the Senate Majority is taking action to fix this broken system. This legislation is marking a momentous first step in addressing racial disparities caused by the war on drugs. The Senate Majority continues to move forward on full legalization...."

Most of these so called decriminalization measures have already been put in place in various counties across the state.

In August 2018, the Manhattan District Attorney's office began an expungement program, and has refused to prosecute marijuana possession and smoking cases [NYS Penal Law 221.10 and 221.05]. According to the DA's office, there are two limited exceptions to this policy:

- "Cases against sellers: Examples include observation sales where PL221.05 cannot be charged, or possession of large quantities of marijuana individually packaged for sale (10 bags or more)."
- "Demonstrated public safety threat: A case where there is additional information from the NYPD or from our office which demonstrates that the individual otherwise poses a significant threat to public safety and an Office supervisor agrees with that assessment. Examples include a defendant currently under active investigation for a violent offense or other serious crime."

In Brooklyn, District Attorney Eric Gonzalez is offering to have marijuana-related

issues surrounding cannabis legalization, such as affordability, access, and quality.

NYS DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH GETS IN ON THE ACT

In September 2018, the New York City Department of Health [DOH] began hosting sessions in counties across New York State in order to hear concerns by members of the public regarding legalizing recreational cannabis. [I attended many of the sessions, including one in Brooklyn where a fat, bald security guard tried to break my arm when I started to light a joint for YIPPIE! pie thrower Aron Kay while some idiot was screaming that she would sue me if she had an asthma attack.]

While the majority of speakers at DOH sessions are for heavily-regulated marijuana legalization, medical marijuana patients speak of unaffordability and unavailability. They say they need New York to legalize recreational marijuana so that they can afford their medicine. However, if recreational marijuana is cheaper than medical marijuana, patients will no longer purchase from the medical marijuana industry. The problem is that the DOH currently oversees medical marijuana and will be the agency to control recreational marijuana as well. Some wonder whether the government will allow their prized multi-million dollar commercial medical cannabis industry cash cow to lose profit over recreational marijuana. To cover themselves, the state is likely to inflate marijuana taxes and retail prices to maximize revenue from both industries.

Medical marijuana patients at DOH sessions also say they are being evicted from public housing for smoking marijuana in their apartments, though they hold valid NYS medical cards. Unfortunately, the NYS Medical Marijuana program does not recognize marijuana flowers or "bud" as a medicine. You can only purchase their allowed tonics, vapes, pills etc. from state-approved suppliers..

cannabis sold in New York State is grown without noxious pesticides or other contaminants.

- Home grown will undermine the state's public health interest in ensuring that cannabis sold in New York State is tested, packaged, and labeled correctly.
- Home grown will cost the state tax revenue, thus hindering the state's ability to fund priorities such as drug abuse treatment and community investment.

Has Cuomo thrown his support behind a ban on home cultivation on behalf of already entrenched pot groups?

NYMCIA is comprised of numerous large cannabis companies, such as ETAIN, COLUMBIA CARE, PHARMACANA, THE BOTANIST, ACREAGE HOLDINGS, VIREO HEALTH and MED MEN, although MedMen was recently removed from the group over racist remarks made by company executives. Giving the perception of a quid pro quo, executives and lobbyists for cannabis companies in New York state have made contributions totaling hundreds of thousands of dollars to Cuomo's gubernatorial campaign.

Andrew Modlin, CEO of MedMen, donated $25,000 the day before the company opened a dispensary on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. The MedMen Opportunity Fund also gave Cuomo $65,000 through a so called "LLC Loophole" donation. Cuomo also collected $25,000 from the CEO of dispensary operator Columbia Care, Nicholas Vita, in January 2017, among $26,500 in total donations from Columbia and its affiliates, while lobbying firm Greenberg Traurig, which has a $10,000 monthly contract with marijuana company Acreage Holdings, gave Cuomo $28,000.

Some of Governor Cuomo's biggest donors are Richard and Robert Sands, owners of Constellation Brands, one of the world's largest liquor, beer and wine distributors, which currently holds a 38% stake in Canopy Growth, a Canadian hemp and cannabis producer. The brothers have given almost $314,000 in cash and in kind contributions to Cuomo's campaigns, including paying the governor's travel expenses for at least two trips, one of which cost $24,000. Michael P. Falcone, CEO of Pioneer Companies, co-founded Southern Tier Hemp. The Falcone family and their companies have given at least $179,787 to Cuomo's campaign in the same form, including more than $17,000

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Medical marijuana patients have found that prices of cannabis products sold in New York are much higher than those in most other states. For example, a 0.5-ml vape oil cartridge from Vireo Health of New York sells for $94, while a similar product can be purchased for as little as $25 in California and $35 in Nevada.

MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION IN NEW YORK: A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION?

Full marijuana legalization did not pass during the 2019 legislative session in NY State. However, certain legislation [S.6579A], regarding the so called decriminalization of cannabis, did, which governor Cuomo signed into law in July 2019. The intent of S.6579A is to:

- Decriminalize possession of small amounts of marijuana by reducing the penalty for unlawful possession of marijuana to a violation punishable by a fine
- Establish procedures for automatic record expungement, both retroactively

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In Brooklyn, District Attorney Eric Gonzalez is offering to have marijuana-related charges vacated and dismissed for those with low-level convictions. In December 2018, the Albany County District Attorney's office announced that it will no longer prosecute simple cases of marijuana possession. According to their November 2018 press release, this means less than two ounces of marijuana. That DA is also declining to prosecute unlawful possession of marijuana and criminal possession of marijuana in the fifth degree, is seeking dismissals where those are the only charges, and has begun an expungement program [www.cleanslate.albanycountyda.com/redemption].

Despite this progress, S.6579A fails to address racial disparities and those who are disproportionately affected by New York's antiquated drug laws, such as arrests for sale, distribution, or manufacturing of marijuana, or marijuana-related products. Nor does S.6579A address real

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Without understanding the history and prosecution of cannabis, there is little mention of potential equity programs that would favor those already disproportionately affected by the "War on Drugs" over corporations in the cannabis business. Still, members of the Capitol District Cannabis Consortium and the Freedom First Party continue to advocate for our constitutionally-protected rights, as well as for unregulated home cultivation and use, including manufacturing and processing concentrates, and an end to proposed cannabis-specific taxes.

In the final analysis, the only way to end the racially-biased, unjust "War on Drugs" is to remove cannabis from the Controlled Substances Act, and to repeal all federal, state, and local criminal and civil penalties for the plant called cannabis.

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Two former Vireo Health medical marijuana business leaders, Dr. Laura Bultman (former chief medical officer of its downtown White Plains NY dispensary) and security chief Ronald Owens, are accused of using the company's armored vehicle to illegally transport cannabis oil from

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- Establish procedures for automatic record expungement, both retroactively and for future convictions
- Remove criminal penalties (since a violation is not a crime) for possession of any amount of marijuana under two ounces
- Reduce the penalty to a $50 fine, regardless of criminal history, for possession under one ounce, and a $200 fine, regardless of criminal history, for possession between one and two

or other serious crime."

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Capitol District Cannabis Consortium

Exempt, De-Schedule, Nullify and

Repeal Cannabis Prohibition

JURY NULLIFICATION

@capitolcannabis fija.org
americansforcannabis.com

Global Ganja Report monitors the Global War on Cannabis and its implications for human and civil rights, democracy and ecology. With an international network of contacts and correspondents, we scan the world press and Internet for stories from everywhere that cannabis culture is under attack—as well as those places where the herb is being liberated.

GlobalGanjaReport.com

MICRODOSING WITH MY SHADOW

Can you can lose your depression without losing your life? An experiment.

By Chana Nopales

It was ninety degrees and raining when I left Bellevue last August. I'd run out of hope. I'd just been rejected from a drug trial that I had desperately wanted into, which would have involved a year of counseling and three psilocybin assisted therapy sessions.

Sure, I could go into the woods with a bag of mushrooms. But I didn't want to get high. I wanted to get better.

For three decades I've suffered from major depression. Anhedonia, hopelessness, flat out despair. My first suicide attempt was at twelve years old. I've tried everything the pharmaceutical industry has to offer—selective serotonin re-uptake inhibitors (SSRIs), serotonin and norepinephrine re-uptake inhibitors (SNRIs), tricyclic antidepressants, and more. I experienced numbing and flattening. But nothing made the pain go away.

My depression is called "treatment resistant": the kind of sadness that fluoxetine, amitriptyline, and venlafaxine don't cure. Many researchers believe that psilocybin, in a therapeutic context, can.

Psychedelic researcher Robin Carhart Harris describes a state called "heavy self consciousness," when your mind turns on itself in a spiral of self criticism.

That summer, I felt a crash coming. With the suicidal heaviness returned, I found myself facing down the same options that had numbed and flattened me in the past. But what was the point? I found myself asking an uncomfortable question: Could I lose my depression without losing my life?

I remembered that a few months earlier, a friend had alerted me to the psilocybin trial. This made me feel hopeful for the first time in, well, for as far back as I

> Other psychedelic substances - 5% 10% a normal recreational dose]

You take a dose only once every three days. That's one day on, two days off. There are therapeutic benefits for two full days. The third day is an important control. If you are experiencing visual effects, you have taken too much.

It didn't happen all at once. Here's how it went:

Day 1: About an hour after I take a dose, I feel a slight tingle in my temples. (By slight, I mean slight: tiny enough to question if it's really there at all.) I feel creative, and curious.

What I don't feel is unstoppable despair. I am still aware of sadness, but I can do something I couldn't the day before: I can choose not to dwell on it.

I don't feel elated or manic. I feel clear and present. After a lifetime of depression, this is startling.

The first time it happens, it reminds me of the day in second grade when I got my first pair of glasses. Instead of a green blur, when I looked at a tree, I suddenly saw leaves. Thousands of individual leaves! Being able to see didn't make me feel wild or trippy, but it did feel like it could change my life. With glasses, I experienced a newfound clarity in a previously inaccessible and blunted world.

When I am in a major depression, my thoughts are similarly blunted. They are too heavy to lift and examine. There is no joy or curiosity in intellectual pursuits. (This is heartbreaking. I am a teacher.)

The good news: I can now describe it, because for the first time in months, I am no longer inside it.

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My therapist suggests I think of my new normal as Day 2, rather than Day 3. They want me to think of the return of "heavy consciousness" on Day 3 as just the memory of a past normal. And I try. And sometimes I succeed.

Changing my mind isn't simple, but it is possible.

Something else that's interesting: Depression treatments rarely work the way their advocates say they will. In my experience, however, psilocybin does.

In fact, this is the first time what's supposed to happen to me is anything close to what does happen to me. This is the first time how it goes tracks with how it's supposed to go.

Is it just me? I don't think so. Not if you believe Ayelet Waldman, or the many recent articles (penned by pseudonyms, or people pretending they are in Germany, where psilocybin isn't a felony). Not if you believe the testimony of researchers at

The scientific and medical benefits of psilocybin assisted therapy have been overwhelmingly positive. But trials are expensive, and the usual funders aren't interested. Psilocybin is naturally occuring, and LSD is out of patent. But the bigger story is that the current mental health industry is working fine—for Big Pharma.

According to Time Magazine, an astonishing 13% of Americans take anti-depressants, generating $210 billion a year. Very often, these drugs don't relieve depression, but they do create numbness, lethargy and other side effects that are then treated with other pills, like Adderall, Ritalin, and other forms of prescription speed. But people like Ayelet Waldman, Michael Pollan, tons of community bloggers and, well, me, are doing their own trials with psilocybin and other psychedelics. We're sharing the results in community publications like **The SHADOW**.

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I wasn't selected for the trial. (It's one thing to be depressed. It's another thing to get even more depressed, for getting rejected from an anti depression trial). There was a silver lining. In the process of researching psilocybin treatments, I had discovered micro-dosing: self administering psychedelics in teeny tiny amounts. So, without the money or underground connections to find a psychedelic therapist, I decided to give it a try. Because it's sub-perceptual, micro-dosing is safer to self monitor. Instead of a professional guide, I armed myself with a book, **A Really Good Day** by Ayelet Waldman

In 2010, Waldman kept a journal for thirty days, logging both her research and her personal experience micro-dosing LSD. As a public defender, she knew exactly how dangerous the book was to publish. She waited the eight years for the statute of limitations to expire, and then published it anyway. Micro-dosing had changed her life. I thought maybe it could change mine.

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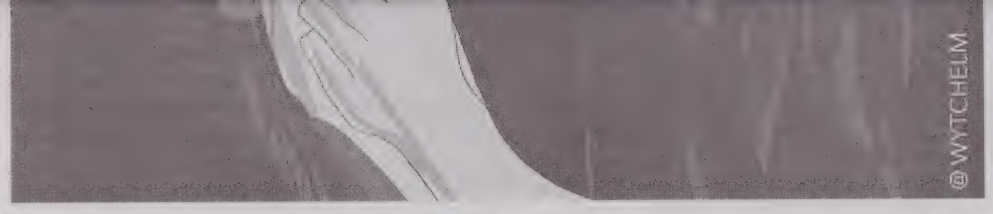
One of the benefits often reported with psilocybin is the ability to re pattern. When I am depressed, the cycle of self criticism is locked in, and there is no key. The Groove of Despair gets deeper and deeper with each echo.

On a micro-dose, I can still see the grooves, but I'm not locked inside. I'm outside, feeling the gravity, but thinking: I don't want to fall for this today. I have far too many other things I'd rather be doing with my time. Like interviewing an artist. Marking my students' papers. Writing this article. (And sometimes I do them.)

I feel optimistic and capable; I feel present.

Day 3: This is the control day, when the old anxieties can seep back in. On Day 3, it's harder to skip the well worn groove of self hatred and criticism. I sometimes end up back in the Groove, caught up in the echoes. I've begun a process of breaking those patterns. But on Day 3, their



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Most micro-dose experiences are self reported, while drug trials funded by Big Pharma are designed to generate the kind of results that allow them to sell a drug for a particular DSM IV entry. (Which might explain why one matches reality, and the other makes doubletalk promises it can't keep.)

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It's a bit of a risk, but I'm sharing my story. Stories don't fill space, like water fills a pitcher; they unfold it like a promise. Not long ago, I thought I couldn't lose my depression without losing everything that made life meaningful.

For the first time, I believe something miraculous. I can fight my depression without losing my life.

TIME WARP [ZINE]
Take the city back !!

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I didn't have access to LSD, but a friend was able to get me a bag of dried psilocybin mushrooms. The protocol I followed comes from James Fadiman's trials with micro-dosing–the same source Waldman used.

[With all the different options available, the dosing amount can be very, very confusing, so I'm including the protocols from James Fadiman and Sophia Korb's research site, microdosingpsychedelics.com, here:

> LSD - 8 15 micrograms (start with 10)
> 1P LSD - 10 15 micrograms
> Psilocybin (the refined chemical) 0.4 1.6 mg
> Psilocybin in mushrooms (many varieties)
. Dried: 0.1 0.4 grams
. Fresh: ~ 7 grams (highly variable)
. Psychedelic "truffles" - 1 2 grams
> Iboga - 4 6 mg.

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This day is important for something else, though. This is a control day. Psychedelics don't accumulate in the body, which makes them anti addictive. You don't need more and more. (If you don't take days off, however, you can build up a tolerance.). You also won't go through withdrawal, if you suddenly quit. Each Day 3, I make a sober decision about whether I'd like to continue. This is not the case for SSRIs, SNRIs, or tricyclic antidepressants.

It's been about two months now. Through trial and error, I've learned that .07g of dried psilocybin mushrooms is a good dosage for me. If I take much more than that, the emotional pain will still lift, but it's hard for me to focus on certain tasks, and I'll also go through spikes of paranoia, especially in situations that trigger my social anxiety (which happens to be one of the few conditions that can be aggravated by psilocybin – can everyone tell I've taken mushrooms?).

people pretending they are in Germany, where psilocybin isn't a felony). Not if you believe the testimony of researchers at NYU and Johns Hopkins.

Most micro-dose experiences are self reported, while drug trials funded by Big Pharma are designed to generate the kind of results that allow them to sell a drug for a particular DSM IV entry. (Which might explain why one matches reality, and the other makes doubletalk promises it can't keep.)

ics. We're sharing the results in community publications like **The SHADOW**.

It's a bit of a risk, but I'm sharing my story. Stories don't fill space, like water fills a pitcher; they unfold it like a promise. Not long ago, I thought I couldn't lose my depression without losing everything that made life meaningful.

For the first time, I believe something miraculous. I can fight my depression without losing my life.

TIME WARP [ZINE]
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The Bezos of Robbery . . .

Continued From Page 2

royal court, pundits and reporters often working for companies owned by the robber barons – have orgasms about the humanitarianism. These wonderful guys! First they create all the world's wealth including your job, you worthless peon through their genius and innovation and bold, big balls risk taking. Why don't you losers do that? And then, they give it away! To you! Amazing! Kneel before the Baron Harkonnen, if you know what's good for you.

The relatives and friends and descendants get nice jobs. And imagine if some heir turned out to be a spendthrift, or nuts, or a loser on the market, and lost it all. Putting most of it into the foundation reduces that risk. The family is still on perpetual welfare, and management of the foundation equity is in the hands of a responsible board who may be tied down by the founder's conditions. Like the title of nobility, it's a kind of immortality. The long dead hand of the founding pirate remains on the keel long after the worms and microbes have processed his bones into fertilizer. That's if they can penetrate the titanium coffin. Take that, worms and microbes. The Bezos always wins!

Anyway, Bezos and the current crop of 0.0000001%ers aren't actually planning on dying. They will, of course, but they're not planning for it. They're gunning for the Singularity. Certain Christians have the Rapture, but these guys are hoping to live long enough to achieve physical immortality through new medical technology, or failing that to upload their brains as AIs, so that future generations can remain under their generous guidance.

Each year, some part of the proceeds from the foundation endowments go into the "charitable activities," most of which is actually capitalist social engineering. In any case, projects by which these sickos seek to remake society according to their own fantasies, and if you don't like those, fuck you very much. I mean, why not, right? Who we gonna entrust this to, me? You? If you're so smart, why aren't you a billionaire, Pete Peterson, courageously put one of his Blackstone billions (after making a billion in a single day) into starting a crusade to reduce, privatize or end Social Security and Medicare. He wrote a column praising himself for it in Newsweek. What a guy! He gave all that money away! For the public good! Because he's concerned the government is spending too much money. On Social Security. This guy was in the Nixon Administration, by the way. He chaired the New York Federal Reserve and the Council on Foreign Relations, the original and perhaps still the premier war think tank. But war is affordable. Remember his generosity, when you're 65 and opening a can of catfood. Also, next time you see propaganda urging Social Security cuts follow the money. Part of it probably goes back to the Peterson Foundation.

Rockefeller and Ford were so busy in the Cold War, they made the CIA almost superfluous. Now there's a case where it's hard to tell which was top and which was bottom.

Okay, okay, they also pay for good things. Remember, this is with money that should never have been accumulated in the hands of a single individual, or should have been taxed if it was. They pay to build hospitals, and not always for rich people diseases, and museums, and libraries. They run vaccination campaigns, the occasional water purification, and oh yeah, they fund academic grants that I'll probably apply for myself, so I can finish my dissertation.

(Hi hi hi, Ms. and Mr. Mellon Application Committee Members, reading this two years from today! How did you find this? I thought I'd deleted it, but hey, ha, why would I do that?! It's all fun and games. Nothing to hide here. No siree. So happy to see you! Love you! Remember, this is just a comedy routine! It's a tribute! Love you double!)

The point is, why do they get to decide how the accumulated wealth derived from the collective labor of this economy is reinvested, whether that's in

What You Need to Know: Smart Meters & 5G5

Continued From Page 15

LEGISLATION IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST: On a positive note, New York State Senator Ken Parker (21st District), has introduced S1618, a bill that not only allows the public to opt out, but also prevents utilities from charging fees. Attempts to accomplish this go as far back as 2013! Although these proposals were voted on and passed in the Energy and Communications Committee, they were never brought up for a vote and passed into law. So now it is essential that residents contact their NY State Senator and Assembly members to urge them to support S1618, and educate them about the dangers of smart meters and 5G technology. It is also helpful to contact your City Council member on this issue.

LEARN MORE:

• Watch the award winning documentary called "Take Back Your Power." Go to www.takebackyourpower.net to see it for free.

• Watch "Generation Zapped" on Vimeo and "5G Apocalypse" on YouTube.

• Go to http://www.5gspaceappeal.org/ the appeal to learn about the International Appeal to Stop 5G on Earth and in space. As of October 5, 157,283 people and organizations from 208 nations and territories have signed this Appeal calling for a moratorium.

• Also watch the film "5G Apocalypse The Extinction Event," as well as "Corbett Report – 5G Dragnet."

Here are a few recommended websites on smart meters:

• http://www.manhattanneighbors.org

• http://www.smartmetereducationnetwork.com

• http://emfsafetynetwork.org

• http://www.stopsmartmetersny.org

• https://smartgridawareness.org

Here are a few recommended websites on 5G:

• http://www.5gcrisis.com

• http://www.whatis5g.info

• http://www.zero5g.com

• http://www.ehtrust.org

THE NEED FOR VIGILANCE AND ACTION: The deployment of smart meters and 5G without full understanding by the public amounts to uninformed consent. This means that since people have not risen up to oppose smart meters and 5G, the industry which has set policy can claim that since we did not object, we have consented. Nothing could be further from the truth. Therefore, we must get informed, inform others, and take action to reclaim our rights, ensure our safety, and establish our power to determine our own future. This is the only way to avoid becoming part of a grand experiment which results in huge profits and control by corporations and surveillance agencies while causing irreparable damage to all living things.

[Les Jamieson is an activist/organizer/researcher. For organizing against smart meters and 5G in NYC, send email to: sayno2smartmetersand5g@gmail.com and nycwake.up@gmail.com]

Venezuela Myth Continued from Pg.3

KILLING THE PUBLIC BANKING REVOLUTION IN VENEZUELA

It may be about more than oil, which recently hit record lows in the market. The US hardly needs to invade a country to replenish its supplies. As with Libya and

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The Koch brothers don't just fund political climate change by superpac; they have built a host of dishonest scholarship factories to promote extreme libertarian policy, total deregulation, and also help keep the family values fascists angry all day. Some of these are set up at real universities, by the way. Remember, all this gets tax breaks. Just in case any of the billionaire swag is still being taxed.

The Gates, Walton and Broad foundations fund the astroturf campaigns to destroy teachers' unions and destroy by reform public education, also to get schools to buy lots of Microsoft Surplus XL. Whatever Gates decides is the reform of the moment, the education departments and the rest of the money follow. For the children, you understand. Never mind if they have clean drinking water or dioxin free playgrounds, what every single child needs is a laptop. A laptop that runs on Windows.

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The point is, why do they get to decide how the accumulated wealth derived from the collective labor of this economy is reinvested, whether that's in rockets or meals on wheels, a shiny new 256 story tower in the middle of Central Park, with some pocket change thrown at "public" NPR and PBS so that they remain pious and obedient?

Did you know? Some countries actually have well funded world class public universities, hospitals, museums, libraries, etc., etc., and even give a higher percentage of GDP to aid for poorer countries, and that's in actual aid, not just loans to buy warplanes from the providing country. Did you know?

Still, one thing is clear. Our times are definitely getting more educational, and education is such a beautiful, public good. The lesson of HRB Bezos the Great, Empress of Amazonia and Lord Viscount of Mars, Master of the Universe in the Era of the Billionaire Grifter President, is that the comic book and James Bond villains really do exist in real life, albeit without the magic powers, without the charm, and sadly without their defeat plotted into the end of the story arc. Bruce Wayne is the Joker and Thanos is, in fact, Tony Stark.

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The banking crisis of 2009–2010 exposed the corruption and systemic weakness of Venezuelan banks. Some banks were engaged in questionable business practices. Others were seriously undercapitalized. Others were apparently lending top executives large sums of money. At least one financier could not prove where he got the money to buy the banks he owned.

Rather than bailing out the culprits, as was done in the US, in 2009 the government nationalized seven Venezuelan banks, accounting for around 12% of the nation's bank deposits. In 2010, more were taken over. The government arrested at least 16 bankers and issued more than 40 corruption-related arrest warrants for others who had fled the country. By the end of March 2011, only 37 banks were left, down from 59 at the end of November 2009. State-owned institutions took a larger role, holding 35% of assets as of March 2011, while foreign institutions held just 13.2% of assets.

Housing was declared a constitutional right, and Venezuelan banks were obliged to contribute 15% of their yearly earnings to securing it. The government's Great Housing Mission aimed to build 2.7 million free houses for low-income families before 2019. The goal was to create a social banking system that contributed to the development of society rather than simply siphoning off its wealth. Boothroyd wrote:

". . . Venezuelans are in the fortunate position of having a national government which prioritizes their life quality, well-being and development over the health of bankers' and lobbyists' pay checks. If the 2009 financial crisis demonstrated anything, it was that capitalism is quite simply incapable of regulating itself, and that is precisely where progressive governments and progressive government legislation needs to step in."

That is also where the progressive wing of the Democratic Party is stepping in in the US – and why Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's proposals evoke howls in the media of the sort seen in Venezuela.

Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution gives Congress the power to create the nation's money supply. Congress needs to exercise that power. Key to restoring our economic sovereignty is to reclaim the power to issue money from a commercial banking system that acknowledges no public responsibility beyond maximizing profits for its shareholders. Bank-created money

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Over the howls of the media, in 2010 Chavez took the bold step of passing legislation defining the banking industry as one of "public service." The legislation specified that 5% of the banks' net profits must go towards funding community council projects, designed and implemented by communities for the benefit of communities. The Venezuelan government directed the allocation of bank credit to preferred sectors of the economy, and it increasingly became involved in the operations of private financial institutions. By law, nearly half the lending portfolios of Venezuelan banks had to be directed to particular mandated sectors of the economy, including small business and agriculture.

In an April 2012 article [for venezuelanalysis.com] called "Venezuela Increases Banks' Obligatory Social Contributions, U.S. and Europe Do Not," Rachael Boothroyd said that the Venezuelan government was requiring the banks to give back.

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[Ellen Brown is an attorney, founder of the Public Banking Institute, and author of twelve books including Web of Debt and The Public Bank Solution. A 13th book titled Banking on the People: Democratizing Finance in the Digital Age is due out soon. She also co hosts a radio program on PRN.FM called "It's Our Money." Her 300+ blog articles are posted at EllenBrown.com]

SHADOW BOOK REVIEW

CAPITAL CITY: GENTRIFICATION AND THE REAL ESTATE STATE

By Samuel Stein

Book Review by A. Kronstadt

Author Samuel Stein's excellent analysis of the economic foundations of gentrification, presented in the context of his own field of expertise, namely urban planning, is by no means an easy read. It is written for people who take a deep interest in urban life–not necessarily people who are themselves urban planners, but those of us who think critically about how our own cities are being planned and mis-planned.

If you are among those who have been absorbing articles on gentrification presented in **The SHADOW** and want to acquire more information on the economic and political forces working to push us out of our communities, then we highly recommend **"CAPITAL CITY: GENTRIFICATION AND THE REAL ESTATE STATE"** (published by Verso Books).

Stein's main premise is that cities like New York are now real estate states in which developers, landlords, investors, and wealthy property owners have the lion's share of power with few checks and balances, except for the resistance of the people.

Stein writes that in the earlier part of the 20th century, there was a manufacturing sector in the city which had economic and political clout. Factory owners rented and bought land, the value of which was determined by economic activity, such as manufacturing, that was conducted on that land. Landlords in those days played second fiddle to industrial interests, which not only benefitted from cheap real estate, but which employed workers who needed to live somewhere. At that time, even industrial bosses were in favor of keeping

the epoch of industrial capitalism–they later became dis-invested during the period of de-industrialization, when working class communities lost their reason for existence. Apartment buildings that housed workers that were left to rot subsequently became the object of feverish

Green Thumb Gardeners . . .

Continued From Page 5

As gardeners see it, the new Green Thumb license agreement threatens the cultural and practical autonomy of their gardens by requiring permission from the city for every use.

One of the more blatant examples of restrictions being placed on gardeners includes a line in the new license agreement, which reads: "Licensee shall not plant new trees, damage or remove existing trees, or prune large limbs from existing trees without the prior written approval of Parks."

The new license agreement also dictates that construction of any permanent or temporary structure, "including sheds, storage facilities, greenhouses, rainwater capture systems or other similar structures," requires "prior written permission from Green Thumb, and where applicable, a valid construction permit from Parks, and where applicable, the New York City Department of Buildings, and where applicable, the posting of a payment bond in accordance with Section 5 of the Lien Law." Gardeners wonder what the criteria will be to determine whether or not a particular structure should be built, and why construction in gardens should be a concern for the city in the first place. The structures we build in our gardens both personalize and establish our permanence.

Another line in the new license agreement declares that painting murals, or any permanent work of art, "must have prior written permission" from Green Thumb. If the popular mural on display in the back of La Plaza Community Garden at Ninth Street and Avenue C would have been painted today, instead of "The Struggle Continues", the artist would have had to write "The Struggle Will Continue Once We Receive A Permit."

One of the biggest threats to the autonomy of our gardens is a clause in the license agreement which says that for any and all future events: "Garden groups are responsible for obtaining all required permits and approvals on advance of

Requiring permits appears to be a "politically correct" way of determining who will and will not have access to organize any form of gathering. This is a matter of classism, racism and discrimination. How much money, time, energy and legal understanding is necessary to obtain a permit? How might this turn away non-English speaking folks, undocumented community members, the elderly and/or those unfamiliar with the workings of the system?

The consistent theme throughout the new Green Thumb license agreement is a decrease in autonomy and control that community members have held over our own gardens. In the larger agenda of displacement, this is a strategy to cut ties that local people have to our neighborhoods. Small businesses move out and new developers move in, changing who has visible power in any neighborhood. As transient monied populations increasingly take over our cities, establishing multi-generational and secure ownership of our gardens is resistance to gentrification. Across all five boroughs, protecting our gardens is instrumental to preserving our neighborhoods.

Although the new license agreement took many months to be drafted, many gardeners have reported that they are being pressured by Green Thumb to sign the agreement immediately, though this issue deserves careful and collective consideration.

At this time, it is critical to increase community awareness regarding the consequences of signing the new license agreement. As we all benefit from green spaces, gardeners should be met with the attention and support of entire neighborhoods. Thanks to groups like Loisaida United Neighborhood Gardens [LUNG], The New York City Community Garden Coalition and Time's Up Environmental Organization, important rallies and meetings have been put together and legal challenges continue. To us, our community gardens are vibrant and beloved community homes. To corrupt politicians, our gardens are nothing more than city property.

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In the 1960s and 1970s, New York and other major U.S. cities underwent a process of de-industrialization, during which manufacturing companies moved offshore or to parts of America where it was cheaper to do business. The flight of industry left a vacuum in terms of who called the shots in urban government. That vacuum was filled by big landlords and, more particularly, by speculators and developers.

Stein devotes an entire chapter to Donald Trump, whom he ranks as one of the originals in this category of big urban developers who were nourished by generous gifts of city-owned land and tax breaks that continue to enrich them many decades later, now that the land that they got for free has multiplied exponentially in value.

Stein explains that the fundamental change in the role of big cities from centers of industry to centers of real estate development resulted in a fundamental change in the attitudes of politicians and urban planners. Pressured by a banking system that has the power to choke off credit to cities whose leaders are hesitant

CAPITAL CITY

GENTRIFICATION *and the* REAL ESTATE STATE

the epoch of industrial capitalism–they later became dis-invested during the period of de-industrialization, when working class communities lost their reason for existence. Apartment buildings that housed workers that were left to rot subsequently became the object of feverish investment over the past 35+ years as speculators, faced with a new urban reality, bought up the devalued properties.

Stein says that the economic driving force for gentrification is the "rent gap" that the property owner perceives between rents that tenants are paying presently and higher rents that potentially could be obtained under the new emerging reality in which a demographic of higher income people are entering the market for housing. New York politicians and urban planners now play the role of facilitators for this process, even using police to suppress street life and cultural expression of long-term residents in order to make neighborhoods more hospitable for monied-transients that will turn the rent gap to a profit for landlords.

However, on the positive side, Stein points out that, in spite of dominance of real estate interests, tenants are an enormous electoral bloc in cities like New York, and have been scoring political victories in recent years. He is heartened by the fact that modern grass roots radical movements, including Occupy Wall Street

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One of the biggest threats to the autonomy of our gardens is a clause in the license agreement which says that for any and all future events: "Garden groups are responsible for obtaining all required permits and approvals on advance of the event." The consequences this will produce for social, cultural and political events will be dramatic and limiting. Gardeners would be forced to go through the process of obtaining and paying for permits for birthday parties and children's events, gatherings, and even gardening workshops. Cultural celebrations and community events should not have to be explained.

Overseeing social events gives the city power to monitor and prohibit political events that are not in the city's interest.

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At a town hall meeting in May, gardeners voted unanimously NOT to sign the agreement. In the past 40 years, there has never been such widespread opposition to garden licenses. We have tried to negotiate changes to the license, but the city has gone so far to threaten garden groups with a lockout. We say "DO NOT SIGN" the new Green Thumb licensing agreement and protect our gardens at all costs.

Community gardens are the lungs of New York City. we refuse to be suffocated.

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In the 1960s and 1970s, New York and other major U.S. cities underwent a process of de-industrialization, during which manufacturing companies moved offshore or to parts of America where it was cheaper to do business. The flight of industry left a vacuum in terms of who called the shots in urban government. That vacuum was filled by big landlords and, more particularly, by speculators and developers.

Stein devotes an entire chapter to Donald Trump, whom he ranks as one of the originals in this category of big urban developers who were nourished by generous gifts of city-owned land and tax breaks that continue to enrich them many decades later, now that the land that they got for free has multiplied exponentially in value.

Stein explains that the fundamental change in the role of big cities from centers of industry to centers of real estate development resulted in a fundamental change in the attitudes of politicians and urban planners. Pressured by a banking system that has the power to choke off credit to cities whose leaders are hesitant to support the needs of real estate growth, and boxed-in by a tax structure totally dependent on property taxation, those in charge of the future of urban land were relegated to becoming accessories to real estate players. In places like NYC, a bipartisan consensus in favor of growth in the real estate sector now frustrates community-oriented urban planners.

Gentrification is the social manifestation of the real estate state. Stein says: "...gentrification cannot happen everywhere. It is the third stage in a long term process of capital flow in and out of space: First comes investment in a built environment; Second, neighborhood disinvestment and property abandonment; And third, reinvestment in that same space for greater profits."

According to Stein, neighborhoods that have been gentrified were originally created when landlords invested in housing for working class communities during period of de-industrialization, which left working class communities lost their reason for existence. Apartment buildings that housed workers that were left to rot subsequently became the object of feverish investment over the past 35+ years as speculators, faced with a new urban reality, bought up the devalued properties.

Stein says that the economic driving force for gentrification is the "rent gap" that the property owner perceives between rents that tenants are paying presently and higher rents that potentially could be obtained under the new emerging reality in which a demographic of higher income people are entering the market for housing. New York politicians and urban planners now play the role of facilitators for this process, even using police to suppress street life and cultural expression of long-term residents in order to make neighborhoods more hospitable for monied-transients that will turn the rent gap to a profit for landlords.

However, on the positive side, Stein points out that, in spite of dominance of real estate interests, tenants are an enormous electoral bloc in cities like New York, and have been scoring political victories in recent years. He is heartened by the fact that modern grass roots radical movements, including Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter, have focused on reclaiming urban space.

To sum it up, Samuel Stein sees democracy as the counterweight to the real estate state. Perhaps most importantly though, in his book, Stein exposes the evolutionary and historical character of the real estate state and of gentrification.

There was a time before these things existed, and we who are fighting to preserve our homes and communities may yet outlast them.

[SHADOW contributor Samuel Stein is a PhD candidate and planning activist.]

ADVERTISE IN THE SHADOW

the license agreement which says that for any and all future events: "Garden groups are responsible for obtaining all required permits and approvals on advance of the event." The consequences this will produce for social, cultural and political events will be dramatic and limiting. Gardeners would be forced to go through the process of obtaining and paying for permits for birthday parties and children's events, gatherings, and even gardening workshops. Cultural celebrations and community events should not have to be explained.

Overseeing social events gives the city power to monitor and prohibit political events that are not in the city's interest.

gardens are vibrant and beloved community homes. To corrupt politicians, our gardens are nothing more than city property.

At a town hall meeting in May, gardeners voted unanimously NOT to sign the agreement. In the past 40 years, there has never been such widespread opposition to garden licenses. We have tried to negotiate changes to the license, but the city has gone so far to threaten garden groups with a lockout. We say "DO NOT SIGN" the new Green Thumb licensing agreement and protect our gardens at all costs.

Community gardens are the lungs of New York City. we refuse to be suffocated.

LYNNE VON PANG

PAUL KRASSNER: 1932-2019

Continued From Page 3

Realist by Robert Anton Wilson about Timothy Leary, who had become notorious for advocating the use of psychedelic drugs such as psilocybin, mescaline and LSD for mind expansion, Paul was invited to Leary's place in Millbrook, New York. Paul returned to Millbrook in April 1965 for his first acid experience. In "Confessions...," Paul says: "The CIA had originally envisioned using LSD as a means of control, but millions of young people became explorers of their own inner space. Acid was serving as a vehicle to help de-program themselves from a civilization of sadomasochistic priorities....The CIA's scenario had backfired."

Leary told Paul about "prominent people whose lives had been changed by taking LSD," among them actor Cary Grant, Alcoholics Anonymous founder Bill Wilson, Time magazine publishers Henry Luce and his wife Claire, and film director Otto Preminger. Paul first met Preminger in 1960 when he interviewed him for Playboy and again in 1967, as he was making a pro-LSD film called Skidoo. Famed comedian Groucho Marx, then almost 77 years old, was set to play a gangster in the film named GOD. At dinner with Paul, Groucho asked if he would get him some LSD and accompany him on a trip. In "Confessions...," Paul says: "I did not play hard to get." Paul dropped acid with Groucho and wrote about his experience. [You can read it at: http://www.ep.tc/realist/groucho acid/].

On the last day of 1967, Paul, hanging out with fellow anti-war activists, including Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, created the name Youth International Party, which he called YIPPIE! As Krassner explained it: "We needed a name to signify the radicalization of hippies, and I came up with YIPPIE! as a label for a phenomenon that already existed, an organic coalition of psychedelic hippies and political activists. In the process of cross fertilization at anti-war demonstrations, we had come to share an awareness that there was a

use something he had written. Because I was asking him and not just stealing it, he sarcastically asked me: "What kind of Anarchist are you?" I told him: "The kind of Anarchist who respects people like YOU!"

In 2013, **The SHADOW** [Issue #55] commemorated the 50th anniversary of the JFK assassination. We wanted to counter mainstream media reports pushing the same old government and media LIES about the assassination to a new generation. Paul kindly contributed a piece he had written about Mae Brussell, whom he had interviewed in 1972.

In 1964, Mae Brussell was a single mom with five children, curious about the findings of the Warren Commission, created by JFK successor Lyndon Johnson in order to thwart investigations by other governmental bodies into the JFK assassination. Brussell observed that the un-indexed 26 volume Warren Commission report had ignored physical evidence in order to pin the rap on Lee Harvey Oswald, who was killed by low-level mobster Jack Ruby on live television two days after JFK. Her research and investigations expanded over the years to include murders of those connected with the JFK assassination, nazi war criminals smuggled into the US by way of Operation Paperclip **[read The Nazi Connection to the Assassination of John F. Kennedy at: http://ce399fascism.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/rebel_112283.pdf -- Ed.]**, the assassinations of Malcolm X, Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, and the attempted assassination of Alabama governor George Wallace as he campaigned against president Richard Nixon in 1972. Brussell even hosted a weekly radio show, called "Dialogue Assassination." **[For more on Mae Brussell (websites, books and articles), see: http://www.whale.to/b/brussell.html]**

As Paul tells it in "Confessions...," when the Watergate scandal erupted in 1972, "No wonder Mae Brussell was so excited. She could trace linear connections

ART KUNKIN: 1928-2019

Art Kunkin, founder of the Los Angeles FREE PRESS, was the most visionary, most influential journalist in the history of Southern California since Lincoln Steffens. In 1965, Art founded the Free Press as an antidote to the Enslaved Press, the LA Times and other, now forgotten, rags.

In the midst of the War in Vietnam and the Civil Rights Movement, only The Freep, as we called it, gave us raw news and photos banished from the LA Times and TV network boob tube news.

I'll never forget, though I was only 14, the evening of June 23, 1967. LA police beat the crap out of peaceful antiwar demonstrators. The city's TV news pretended it didn't happen, and the LA Times said that the poor police were attacked by demonstrators. In a special edition handed out in the street, Art Kunkin had the balls to publish the photos of the police batons coming down on the heads of bleeding protesters. Art Kunkin called it what it was, "a police riot."

(The LA Times is so ashamed of their cover up of that bloody police assault, they've removed the original story from their archives and covered it up with a "new" story.)

There were many other police riots, and Art Kunkin was not afraid to name them – and take on the brutal praetorian guard of the rulers and owners of Los Angeles.

I'm looking at the headline from the Free Press of April 1969, "Venice free show smashed by LAPD rioters." (And yes, while I've lived and reported from all over the world, I've carried these newspapers with me—50 year old textbooks in real journalism.)

It just makes me furious that the LA Times obituary denigrates Art Kunkin as some harmless old counter culture hippie with an "alternative" newsletter. The news is news, and there is no "alternative." Art Kunkin brought us the news from Vietnam, from the civil rights movement here in LA – and introduced us to revolutionary art,

police riot in Venice. The Freep had sponsored a multiracial love in and free music rock concert (with Country Joe leading the crowd in the chant "F U C K the war!,") scented by joyously illegal marijuana. While I know that Art personally tried to stop the police from running riot, he surely knew that freedom publicly expressed would provoke the burghers of the city and their blue meanies.

Today, we need new Art Kunkins. The LA Times is still the shill of the LA Police (and, few people knew, until recently, the Times' was owned by the LAPD). The resource and real estate mafia still rules this state and still owns the Bullshit Factory we call "media."

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Yippies became famous and infamous for their sense of humor and media stunts, using pranks, put-ons and guerilla theater to get coverage that reached millions of people. Yippies also organized anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in New York, California and at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, where they ran a pig called Pigasus as the YIPPIE! presidential candidate. Peaceful demonstrations degenerated into police riots after city officials refused to issue permits. The Windy City's "finest" were seen on live television beating demonstrators, bystanders and even reporters, as people chanted "The Whole World Is Watching!" Eight activists, including Hoffman and Rubin, David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, John Froines, Lee Weiner and Black Panther Party leader Bobby Seale, were later charged by the federal government with conspiracy and inciting to riot -- Paul was named as an "unindicted co-conspirator."

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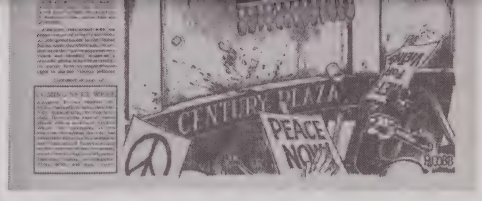

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- Greg Palast

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There is still much more to say about Paul. If you want to know more about him and hear him speak, do a YouTube search. Read his auto-biography, 'Confessions of a Raving, Unconfined Nut," in which Paul lets it all hang out, sharing his life with anecdotes and personal experiences, some of which are embarrassing, dangerous, amusing and hilarious.

For his 1968 Life Magazine profile, Paul offered a personal philosophy: "If I had one thing to tell everybody, it would be: Do it now. Take up music, read a book, proposition a girl – but do it now. We know we are all sentenced to death. People cannot become prisoners of guilts or fears. They should cling to each moment and take what enjoyment they can from it."

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During the resulting "Chicago Eight" political trial, in which defendants refused to behave as directed, half-senile judge Julius Hoffman had Seale bound and gagged in court and jailed defense attorneys for "contempt" when they repeatedly objected to his violations of rules and law. Paul, tripping on acid, testified for the defense. All convictions were subsequently overturned on appeal.

Years later, Paul said he made the decision to spend his life provoking action because he "couldn't help but notice the difference between what I experienced in the streets and the way it was reported in the mainstream media, which acted as cheerleaders for the suppression of dissent."

When we started publishing **The SHADOW** in 1989, Paul generously shared his wit and wisdom with us, for which we will always be grateful. One day, I called Paul to ask his permission to

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Lenny Bruce was a Realist subscriber when he and Paul met in 1959. As Paul tells it: "We developed a friendship integrated with stand-up comedy." Over time, Bruce evolved from telling standard jokes to weaving "taboo-breaking targets: teachers' low salaries vs show-business celebs, religious leaders' hypocrisy, cruel abortion laws, racial injustice and the double-standard between illegal and prescription drugs into stream-of-consciousness vignettes." As he progressed, testing the boundaries of free speech, Bruce was arrested several times in different cities. In some cases, police claimed to be looking for drugs, but in others, cops made it clear that they and their superiors objected to the content of his monologs, one of which included the word "cock sucker." They also disliked Bruce talking about the catholic church and organized religion. In less than two years, he was busted 15 times in a co-ordinated campaign of harassment

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In addition to public appearances that included conventions and stand-up comedy gigs, Paul continued to write prolifically for magazines, newspapers, and websites, right up to the end. With his fertile mind, Paul always had something fresh to say

and, with his huge archive, he had plenty to share with new generations of readers.

There is still much more to say about Paul. If you want to know more about him and hear him speak, do a YouTube search. Read his auto-biography, 'Confessions of a Raving, Unconfined Nut," in which Paul lets it all hang out, sharing his life with anecdotes and personal experiences, some of which are embarrassing, dangerous, amusing and hilarious.

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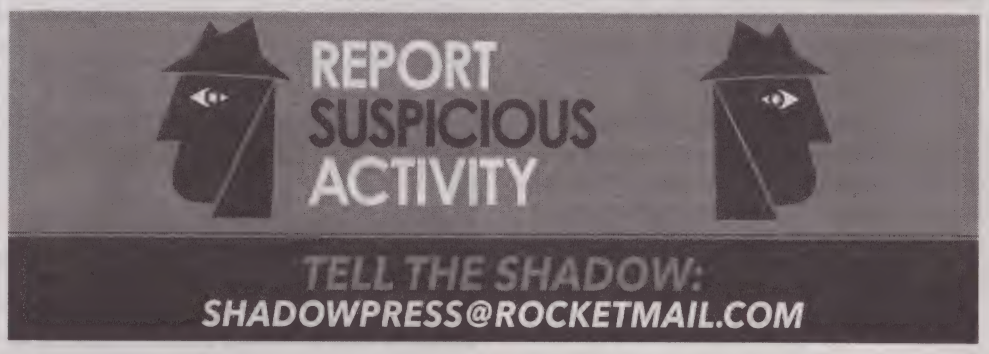
Recommended reading:
• Confessions of a Raving, Unconfined Nut, by Paul Krassner (Soft Skull Press)

Recommended websites:
• PaulKrassner.com
• THE REALIST ARCHIVE PROJECT: http://ep.tc/realist/



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• **911: IN PLANE SITE:** Power Hour radio show host Dave von Kleist (www.thepowerhour.com) presents and analyzes mainstream media footage to raise questions about what type of planes hit the WTC twin towers and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, WTC leaseholder Larry Silverstein's admission of his decision to "pull" 7 WTC, interviews with firefighters who heard explosions throughout the WTC towers before they collapsed, and other footage broadcast only once and never seen again. Extras include a revelation on the Oklahoma City bombing, featuring television news reports aired on April 19, 1995, that several undetonated bombs were discovered inside of and removed from the Murrah Federal Bldg after the first explosion, which contradicts the official story. These reports were killed by the following day, and were not seen

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• **THE BEST DEMOCRACY MONEY CAN BUY:** Investigative reporter Greg Palast **[gregpalast.com]** delves into a dark Republican operation called Cross Check, designed to steal a million votes before the November 2016 presidential election by purging voter rolls of minorities. Palast and his investigative sidekick, Bad Penny, hunt down and confront Donald Trump

president, many have asked "What can I do"? This publication attempts to answer that question. Comics and art by WW3d Illustrated artists, including Seth Tobocman, Sue Coe, and Peter Kuper and students of the School for Visual Arts (SVA) in New York City. 16 pgs. $3.00

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about steel; Building collapses; Basement explosions; interior blasts and ground level explosions, all before the collapses of both WTC towers; Visible explosions just before and as the towers collapsed; Molten metal; The demolition industry; " Who knew?" with admissions of prior knowledge by NYC Mayor Rudy Giuliani and WTC leaseholder Larry Silverstein; The strange collapse of 7 WTC, which was never hit by a plane. **This documentary is a MUST have!** Approx. 90 min. $6.00

• **911: IN PLANE SITE:** Power Hour radio show host Dave von Kleist (www.thepowerhour.com) presents and analyzes mainstream media footage to raise questions about what type of planes hit the WTC twin towers and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, WTC leaseholder Larry Silverstein's admission of his decision to "pull" 7 WTC, interviews with firefighters who heard explosions throughout the WTC towers before they collapsed, and other footage broadcast only once and never seen again. Extras include a revelation on the Oklahoma City bombing, featuring television news reports aired on April 19, 1995, that several undetonated bombs were discovered inside of and removed from the Murrah Federal Bldg after the first explosion, which contradicts the official story. These reports were killed by the following day, and were not seen again! Approx. 60 min. $6.00

• **LOOSE CHANGE 2:** A great companion to **911: In Plane Site**, emphasizes controlled demolitions as the cause of the WTC collapses, examines the Pentagon and WTC hits, black boxes, reports of WTC explosions, footage of explosives bursting from the sides of the twin towers, the shooting down of Flight #93 over PA, cell phone calls from passengers, phoney Bin Laden footage used by media, and more. Approx. **Highly recommended!** 60 min. $6.00

• **THE MONEY MASTERS:** An historic documentary that traces the origins of the political power structure that rules our nation and the world today, which has its roots in the hidden manipulation and accumulation of gold and other forms of money. 210 min. $6.00

• **TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK: OPERATION CLASS WARFARE ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE:** This 1992 Paper Tiger TV documentary pieces together the unofficial story behind the Tompkins Square Police Riot of August 6, 1988,

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FROM OTHER SOURCES

• **YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO REMAIN SILENT:** A Know-Your-Rights guide for law enforcement encounters, published by the National Lawyers Guild. Only $2.00.

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• **YOUR HOUSE IS MINE:** This 2004 documentary by Caroline McCaughey covers the history of squatting on Manhattan's Lower East Side, from the early 1980' to 2004, as told by squatters themselves. Includes the deal between squatters and housing group UHAB that enabled them to keep their homes. $6.00

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• **THE BATTLE OF TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK: SHADOW** and WBAI radio journalist Paul DeRienzo provides an on-the-scene battlefield report during the Tompkins Square Police Riot of August 6, 1988. (CD) Approx. 45 min. $6.00

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